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ETHNOGRAPHIC AND LINGUISTIC NOTES ON THE PAEZ INDIANS OF TIERRA ADENTRO, CAUCA, COLOMBIA

BY

HENRY PITTIER DE FÁBREGA

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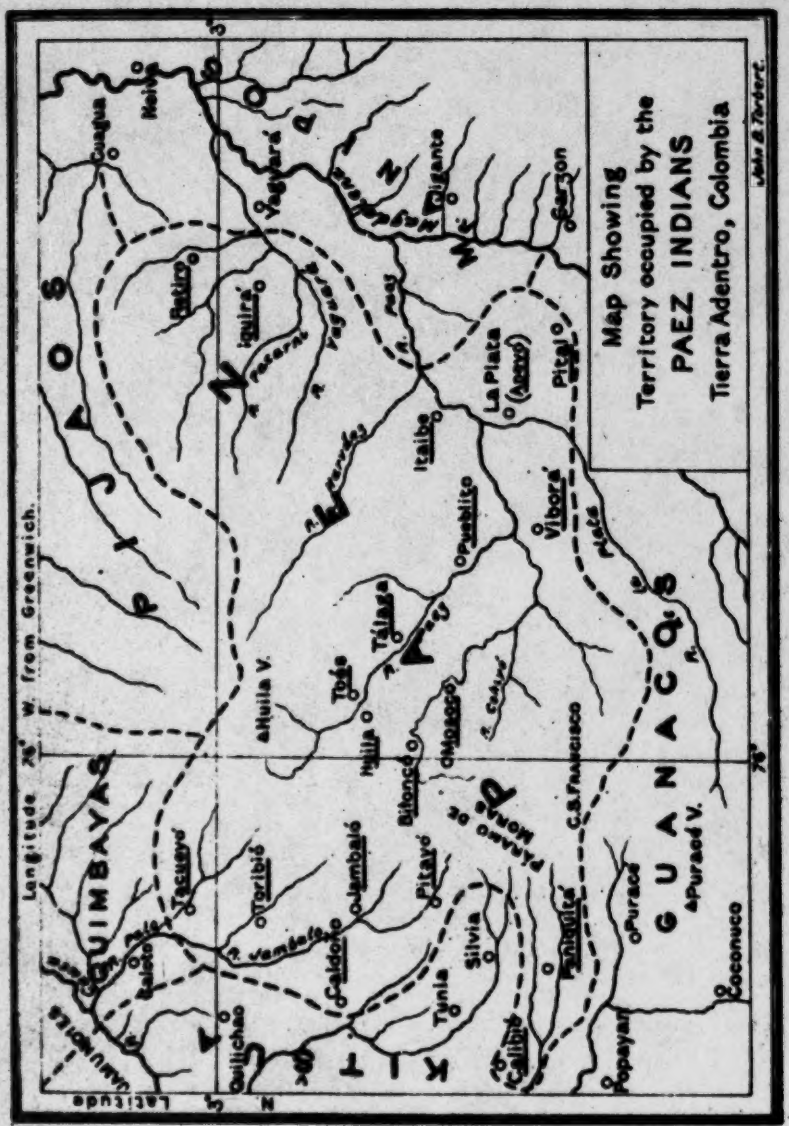
Map Showing
Territory occupied by the
PAEZ INDIANS
Tierra Adentro, Colombia
Longitude 76° W. from Greenwich.
Latitude
Cuaqua
Nasa
Yagará
Páez R.
Páez
Páez
Páez

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ETHNOGRAPHIC AND LINGUISTIC NOTES ON THE PAEZ INDIANS OF TIERRA ADENTRO, CAUCA, COLOMBIA

By H. PITTIER DE FÁBREGA

Introduction

Very little is known of the ethnology of the aboriginal inhabitants of the western and central cordilleras of Colombia and the intervening broad valley of Cauca. The early historians and chroniclers have left only long lists of more or less confused tribal names, along with the recital of the protracted war of extermination conducted with conscienceless and selfish cruelty by the conquistadores. With few exceptions modern writers have found little or no opportunity to deal with what is left of these interesting people.

With special reference to the Paez Indians, who are the subject of these notes, our notions have hitherto been derived almost exclusively from the materials collected by Castillo y Orozco about 1735, and published in 1877 with brief analytical notes by the late Colombian scholar, Señor Don Ezequiel Uricoechea.[1]

Early in 1906 the writer visited the section of the central cordillera inhabited by the Paez, staying a few days at two of their principal villages, namely, at Tacueyó, at the headwaters of the Palo river on the western side of the mountains, and at Huila, at the junction of the Paez and San Vicente rivers, on the Indian reservation known as Tierra Adentro. The personnel of the expedition, in addition to the author, with a few friends and two servants, consisted of native Indians, so that good opportunities were afforded for becoming familiar with the Paez language and to gain an insight into native manners and customs.

[1] Eujenio del Castillo i Orozco, *Vocabulario Páez-Castellano, Catecismo, Nociones gramaticales i dos Pláticas*, (publicado) *con Adiciones, Correcciones i un Vocabulario Castellano-Páez*, por Ezequiel Uricoechea. Paris: 1877.

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121 The present object is not in any way to contribute an exhaustive monograph on the Paez, but simply to give a summary of our former knowledge of them, together with the chief results of the personal information collected during the visit referred to.

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

FORMER OCCUPANTS. "PLANOS DE INDIOS." HUACAS

101 174 In addition to the still existing tribes, traces of the former occupancy of the Cauca valley and the adjacent mountains by a dense Indian population are found at every step. The names of extinct groups, like the Hilamas, Ocaches, Jamundies, and others, impressed on the minds of the former Spanish inhabitants by reason of some of their more gruesome customs, have come down to the present generation, although the tribes, as such, have disappeared. Of the Hilamas and Ocaches it is said they were cannibals. At present their more or less mixed [182 181 162] descendants still live in the villages of Las Pavas and Vijes, near Cali; the "Paveños" have become inveterate legal fighters, keeping their judges and alcaldes constantly occupied; while the "Vijeños," on the other hand, are now so peaceful that the court-house is known to have been closed for eighteen months at a time.

101 114 Of the Jamundies I was told that they were indefatigable warriors, having fought the Spanish invaders to the last of their strength. Their name is perpetuated in that of the little town [103] of Jamundi, near which I visited the very interesting vale of Agua Sucia, which may have been one of their principal strongholds, as well as a rich gold-washing place. The hills were and still are partly covered with graves, or *huacas*, and these have [135] been found so abundant in gold objects as to have induced enterprising miners, or *huaqueros*, to conduct a stream of water from a long distance in order to completely wash the slopes. 172 I do not attempt to mention the fabulous riches that are said to have been extracted from this place and from several other no less rich discoveries. An immense amount of pottery, often highly ornamented, together with grinding-stones, hatchets,

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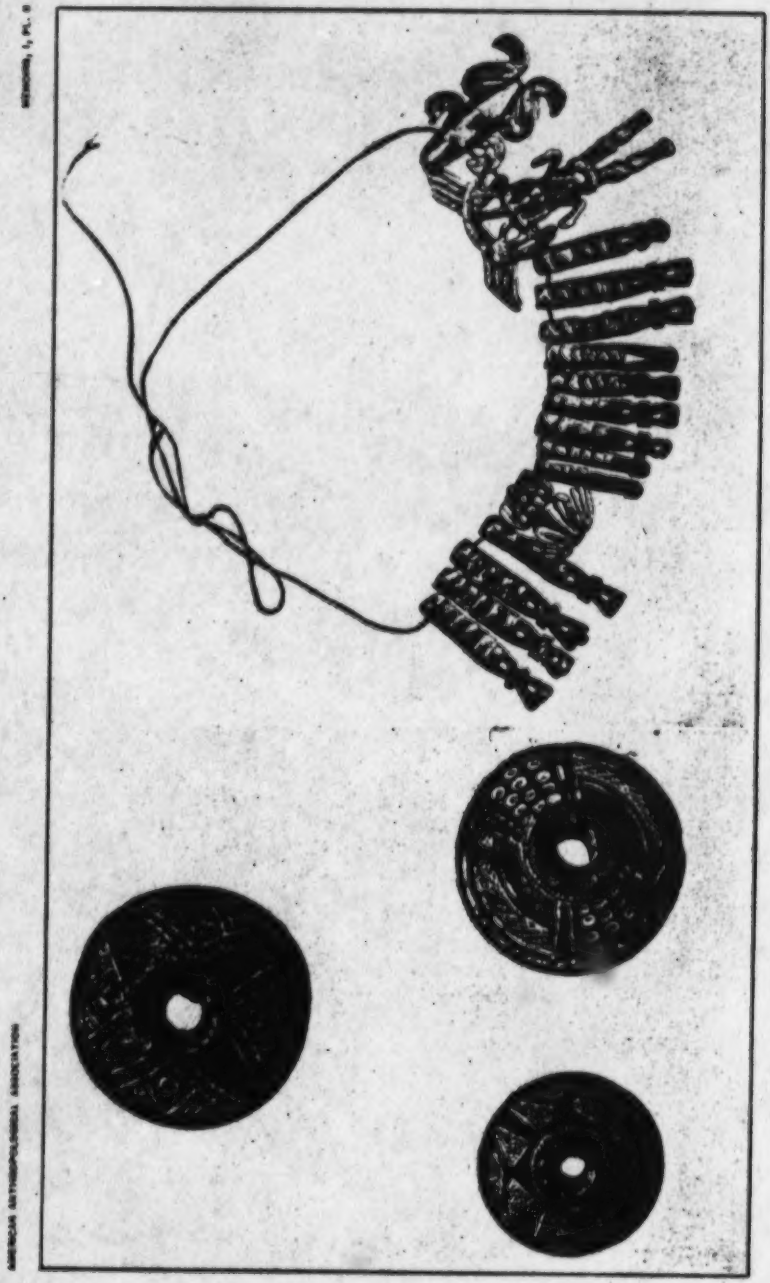

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[facing P.307]

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emeralds, and other objects, were ruthlessly destroyed or scattered about, without consideration for their archeological or even for their intrinsic value. Among the pieces of pottery more commonly found are the small elegantly designed disks, or spindle-whorls, of which I procured several specimens for the United States National Museum (plate II, 1). I obtained also a minutely wrought spider, and one of the gold fish-hooks that are often met with on sand beaches along the streams.

The principal Jamundi relic of Agua Sucia, and which is not likely to be displaced for some time, is the so-called "Piedra de los Sacrificios," an immense block of old eruptive stone, covered with pictographs (plate III, 1). The miners and peasants living in the district believe that a definite meaning is attached to these rude drawings, and possibly some speculative archeologist will see in them more or less mystic symbolism that my lesser imagination fails to discover; for I think we must be contented with regarding them simply as the product of representative art in its infancy. A few of the glyphs are reproduced here, some giving an idea of the geometric notions of the draftsmen, while the others are rudiments of the art of designing (plate II, 1, and figures 1, 2).

On the way to Tacueyó I became acquainted for the first time with a so-called "plano de Indio," such as are found at short intervals on the mountain ridges of the entire Cauca region. While pursuing our way on the top of a very narrow spur, we suddenly found that the crest was cut across by a very deep ditch that showed every evidence of having been the work of man. Beyond this ditch the top of the hill had very probably been artificially leveled off so as to form a plane surface of about 15 meters in width and 20 meters in length. At the end of this esplanade the hill is cut by another ditch, identical with the first. The distance between the two ditches is very much greater than the length of the esplanade, amounting to more than 100 meters.

According to all indications, the level space was the site of an Indian house, and that part of the hill between the ditches is generally found to be full of graves, those on the house site

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1. PIEDRA DE LOS SACRIFICIOS (TAMUNDÍ)
2. CUT HILL NEAR TACUEYÓ

[facing P. 308]

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172 containing, as a rule, gold objects and pieces of superior pottery.
361 We observed many of these "planos de Indios" on the road between Corinto and Tacueyó, their situation corresponding ex-

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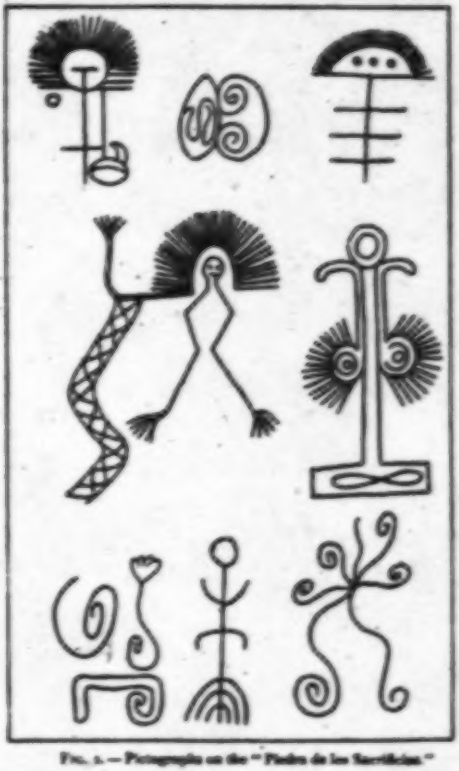

FIG. 1. — Petroglyphs on the "Piedra de los Sacrificios."

172 actly with what we know of the present habits of isolation of
361 the Paez Indians. The number of graves at each site does not
[844 however seem to agree with the former custom of these Indians
768] of abandoning a house as soon as a birth or a death had taken place in it.

As a very good example of the altitude at which the former

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inhabitants of these valleys established their residences, I may mention that the highest "plano" on the cordillera was found at about 3,300 meters at El Alto de las Cruces, one of the spurs of the Páramo de Buena Vista, the limit of the forest being here

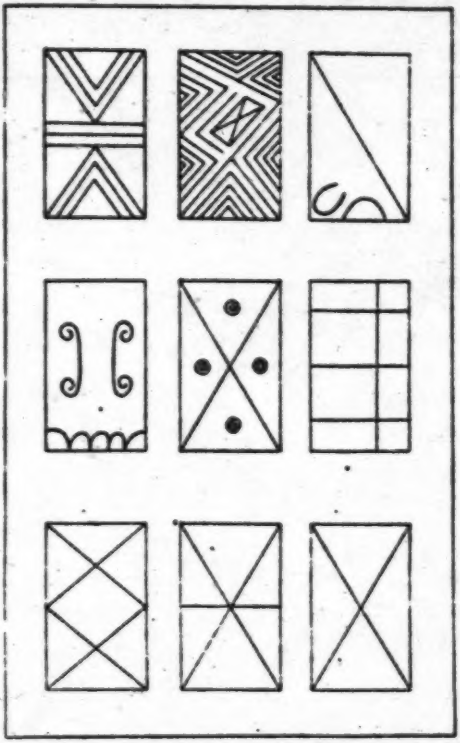

FIG. 2.—Geometrical figures on the "Piedra de los Sacrificios."

at about 3,600 meters. The greatest altitude of the abodes of the present Indians scarcely exceeds 2,600 meters.

While on this subject I shall mention an explanation of the "planos" as it was given by one of our Indians. "In old days,"

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he said, "the caciques or chieftains, had their messages transmitted from valley to valley by means of runners who were stationed at short intervals along the main roads. Each runner kept himself in readiness to start on the arrival of a message, thus insuring rapid transmission." As the "planos" and also the old trails are found on almost every ridge, it is difficult enough to judge of the value of this explanation; but, if I am not mistaken, such a system of communication existed without doubt at a short distance southward among the Incas of Ecuador and Peru, and perhaps extended into the Cauca valley.

On our return from Huila, while traveling between Toribío and Tacueyó, I noticed on the left an isolated hill with a part of its ridge separated from the rest by a deep cross-cut, evidently artificial. The top of the separated part looked in the distance as if also isolated by a ditch. My friend, Mr Emile Bizot, a mining engineer of wide experience in these parts, informs me that this is a common feature of the hilly district formerly inhabited by the natives, and that the enclosed surface always contains numerous graves (plate III, 2).

The high peaks of the most rugged districts of Tierra Adentro are often crowned by isolated *huacas*, which are especially sought by treasure-hunters. At Tacueyó we had the opportunity of admiring a set of gold objects found in such graves and of which we made the photograph reproduced in plate II, 2. The frogs are of a type quite distinct from those with which I became familiar in Costa Rica. The representative of a human being recalls certain Chibchan idols, or, according to Mr W. E. Safford, Kitšua amulets. As to the thirteen remaining pieces of gold, quite thin and almost uniform in shape, they are perfectly new to me.

Former and Present Distribution

According to Father Rodriguez[1] the Paez, or Paós, Indians lived on the summit and slopes of the *Cordillera de Guanacas*, "sierra muy fria que llaman el Páramo de las Papas," a defini-

[1] P. Manuel Rodriguez, *El Marañon y Amazonas. Historia de los descubrimientos, entradas y reducciones de Naciones*, Madrid, 1684.

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tion which would correspond pretty well with the explanation given by subsequent authors, except for its last, untranslated member, which seems to imply a lack of geographical knowledge on the part of Father Rodriguez. According to modern maps, indeed, the term "Alto", or "Cordillera de Guanacas, seems to apply only to the group or node of mountains north of the Coconucos and Puracé volcanoes, and south of the towering Huila. This includes the "Páramo de Moras," which we crossed on our return from Tierra Adentro, but not the *Páramo de las Papas*, which is situated south of the Puracé, at the headwaters of the Cauca, Caquetá, and Magdalena rivers.

If we admit, then, that in Father Rodriguez's description the name Páramo de las Papas is merely a lapsus for Páramo de Moras, the area given by him corresponds pretty well with that which is recognized as such by Uricoechea in his introduction to Castillo's work, excepting that the latter extends this area northward to include the upper Yaguará basin. According to Castillo, this last was probably inhabited by another *parcialidad*, which he calls Bemb, "indios infieles de nación pijaos." At Huila, when pointing northward to the valleys on the eastern slope of the volcano and asking who lived there, the Indians answered, "Los Pijaos", and among the Spanish people it is generally understood that the Paez and the Pijaos are one and the same. This is also the opinion of Reclus,[1] who says: "Among the various tribes that wandered through the thick forests of this [eastern] slope of the [central] Cordillera, the most barbarous were the *Pijaos* or *Paez*, who selected innocent victims to offer to their divinities. The enemy killed in a fight could be only indifferent to the gods; but a woman, a child, an inoffensive stranger, the pure ones, were welcome to the bloodthirsty genii." And these monstrous sacrifices must be repeated at short intervals to insure the permanent good-will of the gods.

The area given on the accompanying map (plate 1)[1] corresponds with the above-mentioned description by Rodriguez,

[1] Reclus, *Géographie universelle*, XVIII, p. 305.

[1] [See P 304 – Analyst]

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only it might be necessary to modify it slightly if we were able to localize all of the thirty-four villages or hamlets reputed to be of Paez stock and included in the following systematic list:

1. *Paez Basin*

As-at	Inzá	Suín
Chinas	Láme	Tálaga
Chitoco	Mosoco	Toés
Cuetandó	Nátaga	Vitoncó
El Pital	San Andrés de la Plata	Yaquirá
El Naranjal	San José	

2. *Palo Basin*

Jambaló	San Francisco	Toribío
Pitaió	Tacueyó	

3. *Orejas, Coros, and Picudama Mountains*

Cajibío	Caldonió	Paniquitá

4. *Vaguará Basin*

El Retiro	Iquirá

5. *Locality Uncertain*

Abirama	Oyó	Ricaurte
Caldera	Pueblo Nuevo	Tobóima
La Troja	Pusó	

The principal neighbors of the Paez Indians, according to the above description of their territory, were to the north — the Quimbayas on the western slope of the central cordillera, and the Pijaos on the eastern slope. To their east were the Manipos, in the Magdalena valley; the Guanacos were on both watersheds of the central cordillera southward; and westward on the plains of the Cauca valley, the Kitšua and the Jamundies. The Kitšua were probably the most advanced in culture of all these different stocks, and the ones whose influence is more easily recognized in the customs and idiom of the Paez. Their language is also the only one which has come down to us in its integrity.

There is no positive proof of the identity of the Paez and Pijaos, and it is fair to state that there are many data pointing to the fact that originally they were merely neighbors, and allied against the Spaniards, as, for instance, in 1641, when they de-

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stroyed the city of Caloto, then on the Magdalena river, according to Alcedo. But it is not unlikely that, later on, during their decline, the Pijaos, Paés, and perhaps several other tribes became mixed, and those whom we now call *Paez* are the survivors in blood, customs, and traditions, of all these frequently named *parcialidades* or *naciones*.

Physical Characteristics

There is no special reference by former writers respecting the physical characteristics of these Indians, probably because of the apparent uniformity in type of all the tribes of tropical South America. According to my own very fleeting observations the Paez are small, broad-shouldered, with small bony hands, and feet broadened toward the extremities. Their skin is very dark, a character common to all Indians living at great altitudes. In the case of almost every adult, both male and female, coming under my observation, I observed a fine black pubescence covering all visible parts of the body. They appear to be generally strong and healthy, and their physical endurance is not below the average. On our trip across the cordillera each adult man carried at least thirty kilograms, and many of them more than fifty, and none complained of being too heavily laden, although the trail up to nearly 4,000 meters and down again was exceedingly rough and steep, requiring at times not only much exertion but equal presence of mind.

It is well to mention, after Uricoechea, that the Paeces are naturally inclined to warfare, and invariably join one side or the other in the unceasing Colombian revolutions. In early times they raided the Spanish establishments, the destruction of Caloto on two occasions (the first time in 1641) being still held by them in vivid remembrance as glorious feats of their ancestors. I was even assured that not long ago, during the last war, they were with difficulty prevented from making an incursion on the neighboring Cauca cattle ranches.

I was quite surprised to find among the Paez Indians a character that I had noticed previously in Central America, but of which no record could be found in current literature. I refer to

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the odor peculiar to the Indians, which becomes quite noticeable when they are sweating and which so closely resembles that of the secretion of the so-called *sahino*, or wild hog (*Dicotyles tajacu* L.), that I have more than once been deceived into believing that our trail crossed the path of a drove of these animals.

When at rest the Paez men almost invariably sit on their heels, the toes sustaining the whole weight of the body, while the women sit with their legs stretched together on the ground, even when near the fire in their houses. In micturition young girls remain standing. The gait of both men and women is short-paced and easy, the body being always slightly inclined forward, probably on account of the habit of carrying heavy loads.

Like all children of Nature, the Paez Indians are very keen observers of their surroundings, as is shown by the minuteness of their differentiation in plants and in certain groups of insects. Castillo, for instance, gives the names of no fewer than six different varieties of ants —

kan-kik	*cĭĭ-kik-ne*	*cĭa-l*
kik-fats	*gnue-kandi*	*to-fĭi*

and I collected very few plants for which they did not have a ready name.

Reproduction and Death

When a girl reached puberty the event was celebrated among the old Paez Indians by a special dance called *itsa-ko*, during which the young naked female was placed in a hole dug outside the hall-house and thoroughly washed with *chicha*. We have no notice of pre-marital liberty being conceded to women, nor of the relation of children to parents in the family organization. As tradition has it, the pre-conquest Paez were polygamous, and notwithstanding the efforts of the missionaries, it is almost certain that this practice has not completely disappeared. We know nothing about the existence of marriage ceremonies before the introduction of the Catholic ritual. It is likely, however, that marriages were endogamous and free, and, as such, a very frail institution, as Castillo informs us that even in his time

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marriage bonds were not definitely made until experiment indicated the fecundity of the woman, and that the union was dissolved at the will of the husband if the wife proved to be barren. The same authority informs us that the wife had to give her husband the necessary clothing, while the husband provided food for the family.

A custom mentioned by Castillo was that during menses the women spent the time sitting in small huts expressly built for that purpose, for fear of contaminating the common dwelling and of bringing disease and death to its occupants.

Rodriguez relates another custom in connection with childbirth and death: ". . . y siempre que pare la mujer, ó que muere alguno de su familia, desamparan la casa, dexando en ella al difunto con cantidad de bastimento y de la chicha, brebage, que beben: y á las casas donde parió la mujer, las dejan con las inmundicias de el parto, y acabadas de nacer las criaturas, las laban, y se vañan sus madres, poniendose en viaje á buscar nuevo paraje para su habitacion, que siempre procuran sea en parte muy fragosa, por no ser visitados."

These details are confirmed by Castillo and were probably still observed in his time. As to what is done at present, and regarding the family organization in general, it is very difficult to obtain reliable information. The Indians are very jealous of their women, do not tolerate in them any intercourse with strangers, and become instantly distrustful when questioned about family matters.

With reference to death, Castillo differs from Rodriguez in that he states that a dying person was taken from the house, so that he did not actually die in it, and that the dwelling was destroyed by fire. He does not mention the custom of leaving food near the corpse, but states that the body was buried and a fence built around the grave.

Diseases

No diseases came under my observation during my stay at Huila and Tacueyó, and the Indians rather impressed me as being a healthy people. But if their vocabulary affords suffi-

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cient testimony, they have their share of physical ailments. Besides itch (*lel*), tumors of several kinds (*lol-sek*, tonsilitis; *koü*, tumor in the groin), they have original names for smallpox (*buzgué*), which I was told often rages among them, for diarrhœa (*u-tšilš*), dysentery (*mengué*), and intermittent or malarial fevers (*ya-ya-gué* in the ancient dialect, *kué-kué-né* in that spoken at the present day).

Of the practices and superstitions made use of in the cure of these diseases I could gain no information, but it is very probable that the Paez still have their own medicine-men.

Clothing. Personal Adornment

At present the wool obtained from the numerous sheep kept by the Paez Indians plays the most important part in the clothing of both sexes. I cannot find any direct information on the fabrics used before the introduction of sheep by the Spaniards, but it is most likely that the Paez obtained cotton from the Indians of the Cauca and Magdalena plains, the cultivation and the manufacture of which into thread must have formed one of the principal industries in the latter. I have already referred to the great number of clay spindle-whorls found in the graves and on old dwelling sites throughout the Cauca valley. Judging by these we may feel sure that the former inhabitants were great spinners. On the other hand, the present Paez Indians still weave most of their own clothing, and there is no reason why they should not have done so formerly.

The dress of the men consists of a pair of short trousers (*hiü*), that are evidently a concession to modern civilization. These are made of raw cotton cloth, or of imported fabrics, and reach from the waist to about the knees. Over the shoulders is worn a broad rectangular piece of white woolen homespun cloth, split in the middle in the form of a poncho so as to allow the head to pass through, and hanging free front and back. This is called *tund-atš*, i. e., 'the cloth that binds, or covers.' It is generally worn next to the skin, but sometimes a light cotton shirt, called *atš-petš*, is first put on. Over the *tund-atš* they carry on their left side, hanging by straps that pass over the right shoulder, the coca

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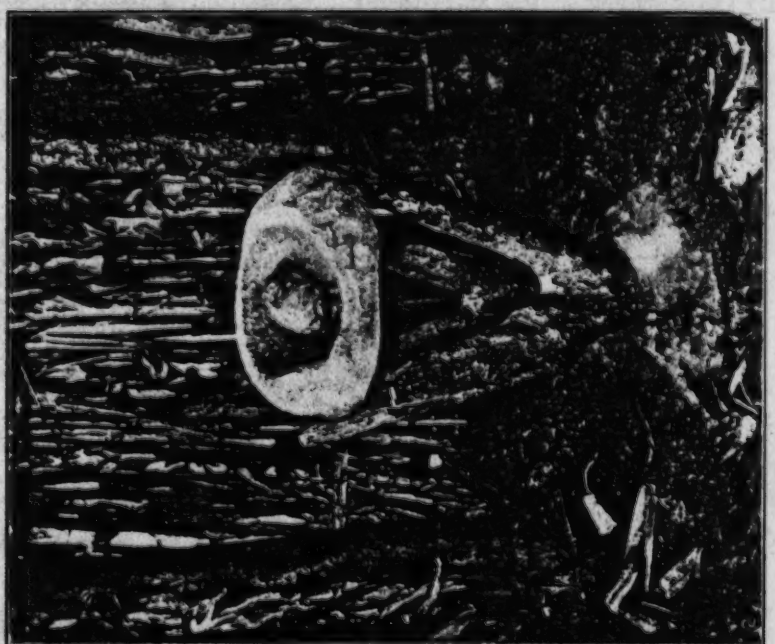

PAEZ GRINDING STONE

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482
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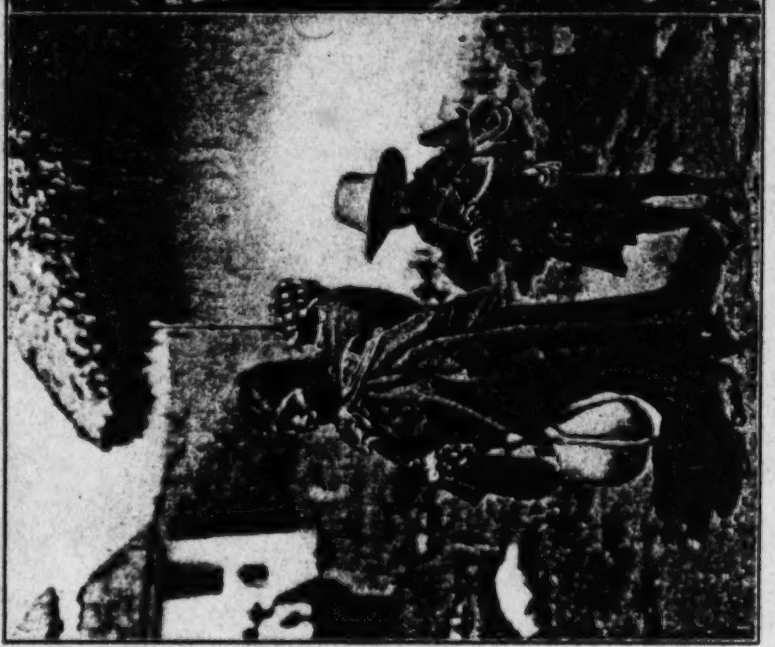

TRAVELING PAEZ WOMAN AND CHILDREN

[facing P.317]

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bag and the small receptacle that contains the quicklime used with the former. When out of doors a second piece of woolen cloth, longer and narrower than the first and called simply *atš*, is thrown over the shoulders, with the head likewise thrust through the middle. A narrow-brimmed hat (*tsua*) the like of which is found among the Kitšua, is the usual complement of this dress. It is made of the outer skin of a tall grass (*Gynerium saccharoides*), resembling sugar-cane and common along rivers.

The women all dress in the same way, with fabrics invariably woven by themselves. The underwear, which is often dispensed with, consists of a narrow piece of woolen tissue used as a loin cloth, passing between the legs and then rolled around the hips. Over this article is worn a broad piece of dark woolen cloth, wrapped along the body and limbs in the form of a skirt. This is the *anaco*, or *pamb-atš*, and it is attached to the waist by means of a sash called *vilia*, the elaborateness and ornamentation of which vary with the wealth of the owner. The upper part of the body is covered with a ruana called *atš-tul*, sewed along the right side and on the right shoulder, but open at the left side, being simply pinned on the left shoulder with a wooden peg or a fish-bone. When traveling the women provide themselves with another broad piece of cloth (*spatš*) which is used either as a cover or for wrapping the baby on the back. In the latter case the cloth is secured by means of a belt (plate IV, 1).

Women also wear necklaces, made now of common glass beads, silver coins, or small sea-shells, the number of strings depending on the wealth of the husband. The mention in Castillo's vocabulary of a word for bracelet (*kaschand-gnuc-tsa*) indicates the former use of such ornament. Females have no headgear. Married women part their hair along the median line of the head and allow it to hang back in two braids. Little girls wear their hair loosely behind the shoulders. In former times women painted their faces blue with the juice of a fruit called *kii*. Speaking of this custom, which seems to be obsolete now, Castillo facetiously says: "fruta . . . con cuyo zumo se pintan el rostro las Indias (*i aun las que no lo son*)." Men formerly decorated their bodies and faces with *tok*, the red color

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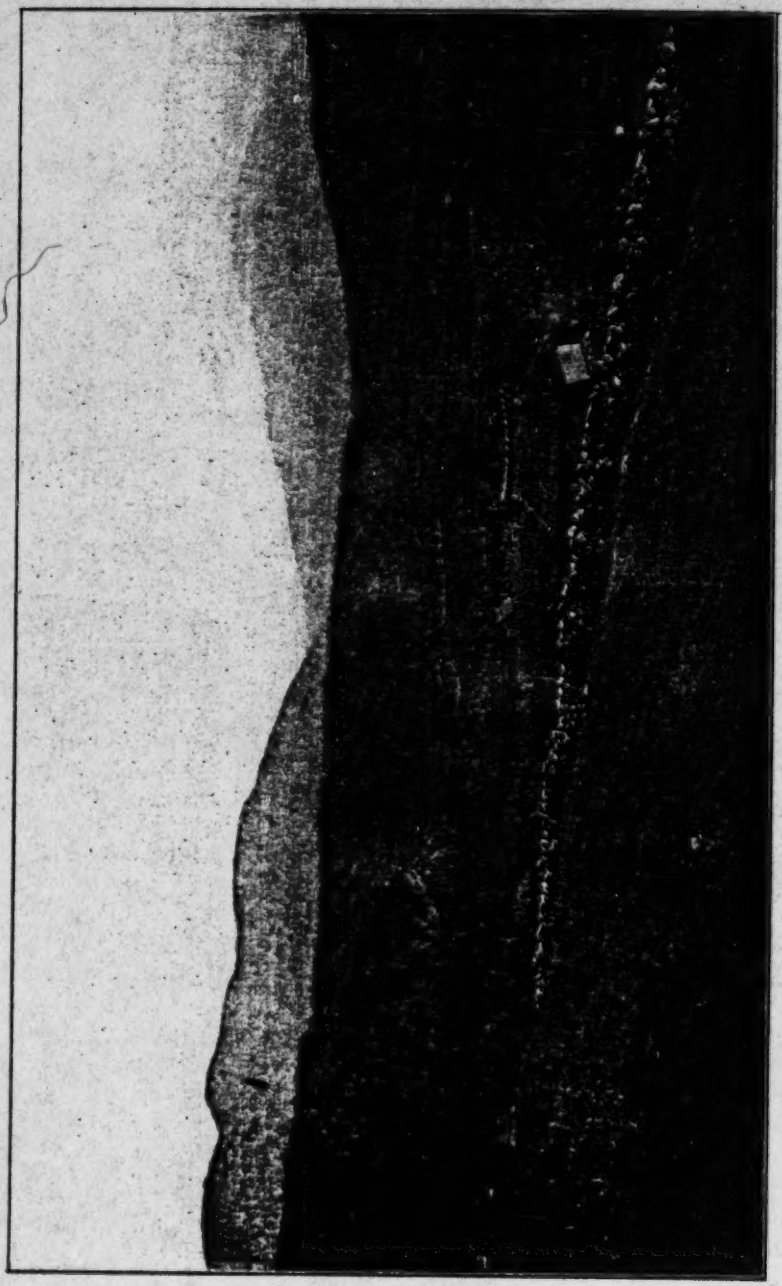

THE VILLAGE OF HUILA

The Houses are in the Patches of High Vegetation Scattered in the Savanna. In the Distance is the Huila Volcano, but the Extreme Summit is not Visible

[facing P. 318]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

302 extracted from the seeds of *Bixa orellana*, which they applied
[294] by means of a cylinder of clay (*kaanda*) on which certain designs were carved. Specimens of such cylinders are often found in graves.

291 Children are very scantily clothed. The boys go about naked
515 until they reach their twelfth year, and the little girls wear only a short *atš-tul*. The clothing of the male and female adults seems to be worn as long as it lasts. As is the case with all Indians living at high altitudes, the Paez are not especially fond of bathing, and cleanliness is not a cardinal virtue with them.
[513] In retiring for the night, they simply wrap their garments tighter around them, the children using old rags in lieu of blankets.

386 The ornamentation of the *tilia*, or sash, with several brilliant
[182] colors and the desire of giving a uniform hue to the darker clothing of the women, gave origin to the art of dyeing, which very likely is to-day in its decline. The dyes were derived chiefly from plants. Black was obtained from *šal*, an arborescent *Phyllanthus* that has a semi-domesticated appearance and forms characteristic thickets around inhabited places, like Vitoncó; the same color is also contained in the young pods of the *huarango* (*Cæsalpinia tinctoria*), a spiny tree often seen near the houses and extensively used at the present time for dyeing wool. The roots of *tuk-nčtse*, a Rubiacea (*Relbunium hypocarpium* Hemsl.) akin to the madder, produce a scarlet color. Different kinds of blue dyes were extracted from the fruit of the jagua (*kii*, probably *Genipa* sp.) and from an *Indigofera*.
[177] Many other tinctorial plants very likely escaped my observation and are gradually passing out of use on account of the introduction of foreign fabrics.

DWELLINGS

342 The Paeces have permanent houses in their thirty-four villages and temporary abodes on their corn plantations. These latter are merely small huts, the walls of which are more or less elaborate according to the altitude, being made tighter near the upper limit of culture. They represent the primitive type of

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

They represent the primitive type of
habitation, the agglomerations being the result of the efforts of the missionaries. 342 [177]

The villages are generally in the open grazing districts at the bottom of the valleys, on side plateaus, or on broad ridges. They are not compact in the common sense of the word, but consist of isolated groups of houses, the approximate common center of which is often indicated by the whitewashed thatch-roofed church (plate v). 361

The walls of the permanent houses are made of a kind of *bajareque*, i. e., a skeleton of canes filled in with clay. In the better homes the interior is divided into two or more rooms, usually very small, with a hearth in the middle; but oftener there are no interior partitions, the dwelling consisting of a single square apartment. In every case that came under my observation the interior was very untidy. 342 353 [354] [356]

The Indians openly objected to our entering their houses, hence I could gain only casual glimpses of their domiciles, the furnishing of which seems to be an imitation of that of the dwellings of the few Spanish people living among them or in the immediate neighborhood. 352 123 177

Outside the houses they generally have a cane-crusher of primitive type, with horizontal smooth cylinders moved by means of levers at each end. A loom and a grinding stone are also seen occasionally under an adjacent shelter (plates IV, 1, and VI).2 407 286 412

There may often be seen, either about or inside the housse, very large jars used as receptacles in the elaboration of the chicha. These utensils seem to be almost the only survival of the ancient earthenware industry. The smaller pottery vessels which were seen occasionally had been taken from old graves. 415 [192]

Each group of houses, in which several generations of a single family dwell, is surrounded by a small enclosed field, planted with sugar-cane, plantains, oranges and other fruits, and greens and roots of daily use. The garden enclosure is formed by a ditch, inside of which is a wooden fence or a stone wall, the latter often crowned by a hedge of maguey (*Furcraea*), lechero (*Euphorbia*), borrachero (*Solanum*), and other bushes. 351 [592] [247]

1 [See plate facing P. 317 — Analyst]

2 [See plate facing P. 320 — Analyst]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

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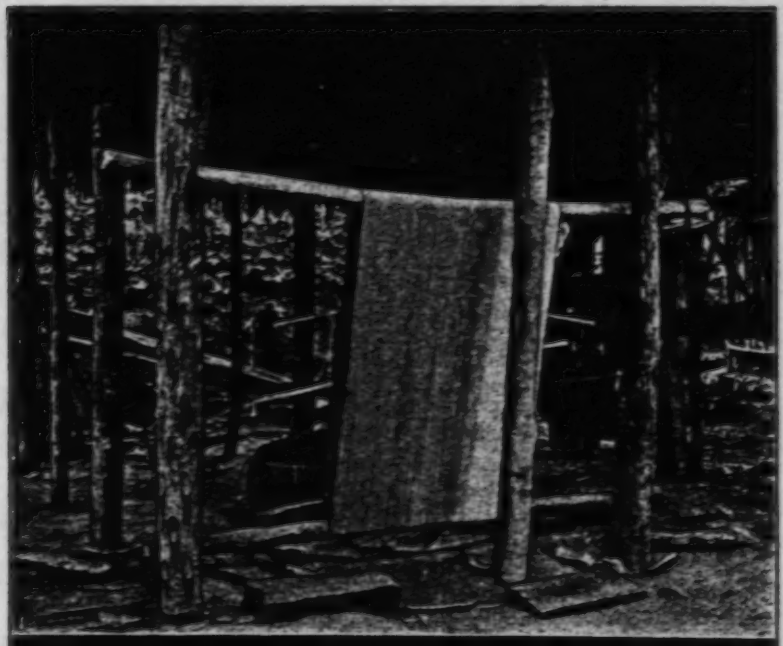

407

PAEZ LOOM AND CANE CRUSHER

[facing P. 320]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SG15

351 In this way an efficient protection is afforded against depreda-
[347] tions by cattle or sheep.

Construction of Bridges

491 The Paez Indians are very clever bridge builders and are often called considerable distances to employ their skill in this direction. I observed three different types of native bridges, two of which were entirely new to me. The more primitive one consists simply of a vine stretched across a river, and crossed by hanging and progressing with the hands and arms. The second type is a frail-looking bamboo structure, the base of which is an arch free in the air, or suspended somewhat like our suspension bridges (plates VII, 2). 1

491 335 The third type of bridge is a much more substantial structure, built of heavy timbers apparently with an understanding of the laws of gravity. On each side of the river a pair of strong beams are built into pillars of stonework, so that the weight upon the immured extremities counterbalances the free ends independently of the supports by which the latter are upheld. Thus solidly fixed, the two pairs are opposite each other with a more or less wide space between their extremities. To span this, the ends of both pairs are first connected by means of transverse ties, inserted between beams and props, the whole being solidly lashed together with vines. On these ties two more beams of sufficient length are laid, which serve to complete the span. The main structure of the bridge being thus formed, a heavy floor, generally of round stems, is laid over it, and the whole is protected by a roof of elaborate construction (plates VII, 1, and VIII). It is useless to say that not a single nail is used to unite the numerous parts of the structure, a vine called *Makuia* being exclusively used for this purpose.

491 We saw two of these large structures, one on the Paez river near Huila, the other on the Moras river, on the trail from Vitoncó to Mosoco. But we were informed that most of the larger rivers in Tolima and elsewhere in the Magdalena valley are bridged in the same way, and that Paez Indians are in frequent requisition elsewhere as bridge-builders.

1 [See Plate facing P. 323 —Analyst]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

FOOD. CULTIVATED AND OTHER USEFUL PLANTS

The principal food of the Paez Indians is maize, or Indian corn, of which they grow several varieties, belonging to three distinct types, namely, a sweet corn (*tšulpi*), a soft corn (*kapio*), and the common flint corn. The words *tšulpi* and *kapio* belong to the Kitšua language, a fact that points to the southern origin of these varieties. Judging from tradition, as well as from the varietal names used elsewhere in the Cauca valley, the flint corn that is grown all over the country may possibly be of northern origin. The Paez language has only one word to designate all varieties of corn, and it is interesting to note that the one now in use (*kutš* or *kukš*) is quite distinct from that employed in Castillo's time (*kokavi*). It is not unlikely that the present name was introduced by some of the tribes subsequently incorporated with the Paez.

The *tšulpi*, or sweet corn, is usually eaten roasted or boiled on the cob. Of soft corn, or *kapio*, they make a kind of dough called *χtšiutš*, which is the base of several culinary preparations, among them the tortilla (*kuáts*). *Kaš* is a gruel made of black corn; *mutši*, or *motši* (the Kitšua *mote*), is prepared by shelling the kernels without disintegrating them. Last, but not least, large quantities of the grain are used in the preparation of chicha (*kcha*).

Beans are generally cultivated along with maize. I noticed two varieties — *us kutš*, black beans, and *us kc*, red beans. The *osgual*, cited by Castillo as special to the village of Suin, are the seeds of the *Erythrina edulis* Triana, which I collected under the name of *us ual*; they are large, and when boiled taste almost exactly like the common horse-bean (*Faba vulgaris*).

Of scarcely less value as a food-staple are the several varieties of squashes, so generally cultivated and eaten as to have caused Castillo to express the opinion that "most of the Indians would perish should these fail in the province." The larger variety, *ápe-tots* (*Cucurbita maxima?*), is less common, and may have been introduced, although it already existed in Tierra Adentro in Castillo's time; *ápe*, the zapallo or pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo*), is perhaps indigenous to the region, since the last native name,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

244 now widely used all over Spanish America, is of Kitiua origin
262 (*zapayú*); *ápe-te*, the most extensively cultivated variety, is called *Mejicano* by the Spanish natives, although it seems to have been cultivated in the country from time immemorial.

Several interesting edible roots or tubers, mostly under cultivation, are relished by the Paez Indians. Thus *ãs*, or *aas* (*Arracacia esculenta*), a celery-like umbelliferous plant with large white roots; *uut*, a peculiar yam (*Dioscorea*); *nia* the cassava root; *káka*, the potato, of which there are certainly several species; *tsqvi*, or *ñuil* (*Ullucus tuberosus*), a very remarkable *Chenopodiacea*, of the high Andean region; *puil*, *Tropæolum tuberosum*, another species, the cultivation of which seems to be restricted to a limited district of western South America. All these plants are more or less under cultivation, but the Indians also eat many wild roots which I had no opportunity to identify. *Kambitá* (*Cyclanthera pedata*), the singularly-shaped fruit of a Cucurbit, is used as a green vegetable along with the tender sprouts of several other plants.

245 Among the favorite fruits the plantain naturally ranks first,
262 and is conspicuous around the houses even at an altitude of 1,800 meters. The generic names are *plan*, suggesting the Spanish *plántano* or *plátano*, and *tulú*, a word that forms the root of *Tulúa*, the name of a town in a territory formerly occupied by the Quimbayas. The banana or *guineo*, corrupted into *kuiú*, is probably an imported variety, as are several others rarely met with.

Other fruits are the *papaya*, *paiá*, not mentioned by Castillo, and the name of which indicates a modern acquisition; *ñal*, one of the granadillas (*Passiflora edulis*); *ñahú*, the pineapple, which grows only in the lower region; *ágtse*, the aguacate (*Persea gratissima*); and also several species of *Inga*, the white pulp around the seeds of which is eaten.

There are two varieties of edible guavas, the one sweet (*Psidium guayaba*), the other sweet sour (*Ps. pomiferum*); and the berries of several *Melastomataceæ*, many of which escaped my observation, are enjoyed by both children and adults.

276 A plant very important in the Indian economy is the coca
[249]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

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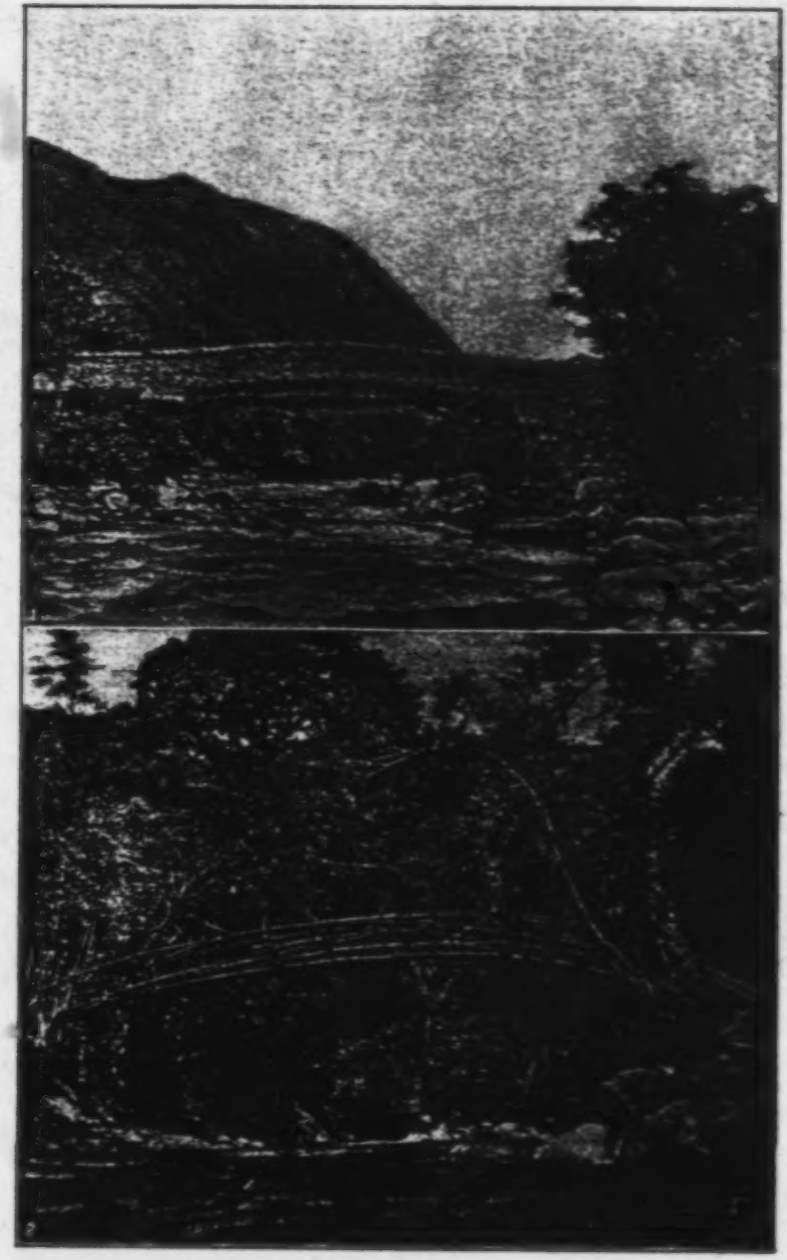

1. BRIDGE OVER PAEZ RIVER NEAR HUILA
2. BAMBOO BRIDGE AT TACUEYÓ

[facing P. 323]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

(*cf*). It is very little cultivated in Tierra Adentro, however, and the dry leaves are imported from the lower Paez and Teima basins. To this product the Paez is indebted for his disgusting chewing and spitting habit, the use of which is still doubtful to me. Coca leaves are said to be a powerful reconstituent, allowing the Indians to endure long marches and great privation. But the women do not use it, and however often they may participate in these hardships, it is with the same endurance. At all events the Paez men never cease chewing and spitting. Each of them carries a supply of coca leaves in his *iása*, and the quicklime or *kwetaw* in a small gourd, both hanging at his left side. Now and then he ejects a mouthful of green saliva, making sure that there be a clean whitewashed wall near by, in order thus to decorate it. He then takes a new handful of leaves, sprinkles them with a little *kwetaw*, and fills his mouth again, ceasing this everlasting process only long enough to eat, drink, and sleep.

Tobacco is known in Tierra Adentro under the name of *sawi-hi*, but it is never smoked or chewed. The sugar-cane, *siása*, is cultivated in small patches. The only textile plant observed by me is a short-leaved agave called *sasto* (Span. *sagasy*). The larger part of the district inhabited by the Paez is above the region in which grows the bamboo called *guadua*; but this beautiful grass is known to them under the name of *soom*, or *suam*. They transport canes of it from a distance for use in the construction of their lighter bridges; and at Huila, about 1,800 meters above sea-level, there was a small plantation of it, showing a primitive attempt at cultivation.

Several useful plants have been mentioned in connection with dyeing (page 318). Although in the Huila mountains there is at least one species of rubber-yielding *Sapium*, the Indians do not seem to have known of the elastic properties of its gum.

A most striking feature of the upper forest zone of the Palo valley is the wax-palm, *láime* (*Ceroxylum andicola*), which is also for the Indians an important economic plant on account of the wax which they obtain by scraping the lofty trunks (plate IX). This product they use mainly for illuminating purposes. Un-

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Page SC15

fortunately the tree is being rapidly destroyed, either in the gathering of the wax or through clearing for cultivation.

RELIGION, CUSTOMS, SUPERSTITIONS

According to Rodriguez the Paez did not know of any religion. But this is diametrically opposed to Castillo's repeated mention of pagan rites still practised among his flock. Moreover, it is not reasonable to suppose that these Indians would have lived in close contact with the Kitšua, who were veritable sun-worshippers, without being influenced by their beliefs.

Itaki, the sun, was worshipped at special shrines built on the cut-off summits (*itaki finô*) of high mountains. At certain dates, fixed by their priests (*diẓi*) in accordance with their omens, they congregated at these places and for many consecutive days gave themselves up to chicha drinking and all the lubric manifestations provoked by drunkenness. On these occasions no blood relation was respected; nor was there any limit to adultery. Later, after the missionaries had undertaken their civilizing work, the Indians secretly continued these hideous practices; indeed, it is even asserted that they have not yet given them up completely, although they may not commit the excesses that were formerly attributed to them, as such would be contrary to their present ideal standards.

Dances played an important part in all the diversions of the Paez. They were of several kinds, varying with the occasion. Castillo mentions the *guciô-kô*, money-begging dance (baile de pedir dinero), or *šiita-ko* (sea-shell dance, baile de caracol), in which two sea-shells (bocinas), the one giving a low tone (bajon destemplado) and the other the treble, were played alternately for whole nights, remembering, "(a los cristianos) la noche de la prision de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, i á los indios, la chicha, baile i maldades que ejecutan." Other dances of which we generally have no description were *onza-kô*, the mouse dance; *nexi-kô*, the buzzard dance; *itza-ko*, the puberty dance of females, to which allusion has already been made (page 314); *etš-kobi-ko*, the dance of the phantom reed; *tel-kobi-ko*, the dance of the long reed, or war-dance; *la-ko* the new-house dance; *kimb-ko*,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

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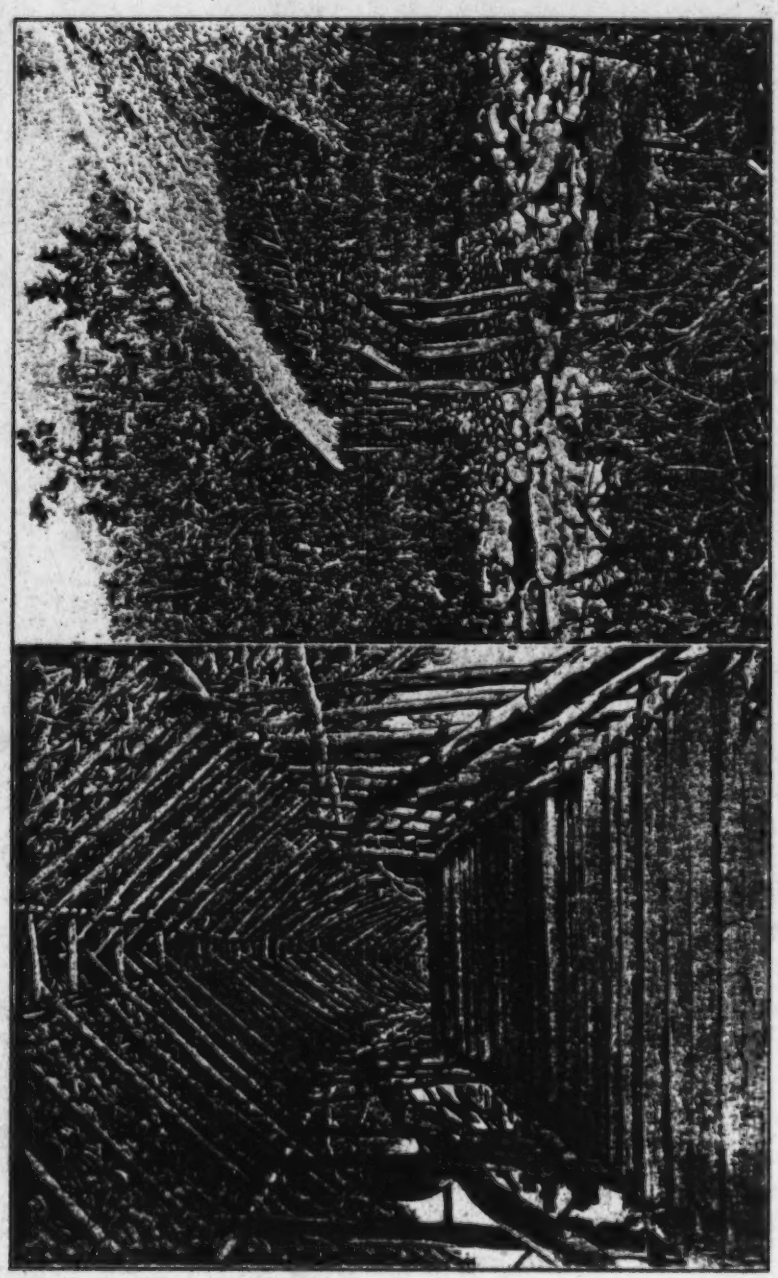

INTERIOR AND EXTERIOR OF BRIDGE OVER PAEZ RIVER NEAR HUILA

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335

[facing P. 325]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

the drum-dance, in which the women sang to the accompaniment of a drum; *vito-ko*, or *fitz-ko*, the stick-dance, etc. 535

In addition to the shells and reeds, the Indians also accompanied their dances with a kind of drum (*kimb*), consisting of a long wooden trough hung by its extremities; and the *tsoöts*, or rattle, a calabash containing small stones or hard canna seeds and provided with a handle. 535 534

According to Castillo the Paez had also other deities, corresponding somewhat to the lares of the ancient Latins, carved images of which were often found in the houses. The *dixi*, who were at one time priests, sorcerers, and medicine-men, lived in retirement and were considered as the keepers of the doctrines of a traditional civilizer of the nation, called *Guckiau*. So strong was their influence in Castillo's time that he complains rather bitterly about it, and proceeds to explain how the true God, wishing to free the Paez from such a devilish guide, simply employed a subterfuge to drown him in the Paez river, together with two of his apostles! 776 778 [79]

The belief in a future existence is indicated, as Uricoechea relates, by the fact that the Indians never molested white dogs, in order that they might not be bitten by them at the doors of the house beyond the grave. 825 795

There were birds and other signs of good or of evil omen. A woman would never step over a leather rope stretched on the ground, but would lift it up and pass beneath. During the construction of bridges, two men constantly beat the waters to frighten away evil spirits. The death of a person was often attributed to witchcraft, and he whose face bore some likeness to that of the dead person was often regarded as the culprit, provided the patient in his cavings had not given the name of the supposed sorcerer. The soul of a cow whose fat had been used for illumination during religious ceremonies was believed to go directly to heaven: this last belief, however, must be of post-conquest origin. 787 761 754 825 774

Among themselves the Indians are jovial and contented. The approach of the men whom we often met on the trails around Huila was usually first detected by the sound of the- 157 533 283

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

pipes they play while walking along, unless their hands are kept busy plaiting braids of gynerium bark in the manufacture of their hats. This is the exclusive occupation of the men. Women almost invariably walk along spinning wool, their distaff under the left arm and the spindle in the left hand, while the right hand is busy at the wool.

The Paez maidens are fond of flowers and are very playful. On one occasion I observed several of them going up the hill beyond the river, in front of the church at Huila, their arms entwined about one another's necks; then they began running up the steep hill as in a contest of endurance. As they became exhausted they threw themselves on the grass, while their movements showed that they were playing and joking all the time. These children of Nature are not unpleasant to look at, except for their usual lack of cleanliness; nor are they wanting in coquetry, and they are often pretty. But in the presence of strangers they are extremely bashful, doing their utmost to keep in the background.

The old women are generally very ugly. Their clothing consists only of dirty rags, and their skin is covered with the filth of years.

Relations between the sexes, especially between husbands and wives, seem to be easy and without an air of superiority on the part of the former. On the few occasions that I had to entertain these people at their houses, the women took the same interest and the same part in the proceedings as the men, which was very different from what I observed among the Central American Indians.

Toward strangers, and especially toward Colombians of other races, the attitude of the Indians is decidedly hostile. Unless induced by the prospect of profit they will neither sell anything nor lend any service, often refusing money and accepting only articles which they especially desire. They will not allow white or black people in their homes, and at Huila they are even unwilling that the only white family living there should share the practically inexhaustible supply of fuel scattered about in the near-by forest, or have horses or cattle pasturing on the almost

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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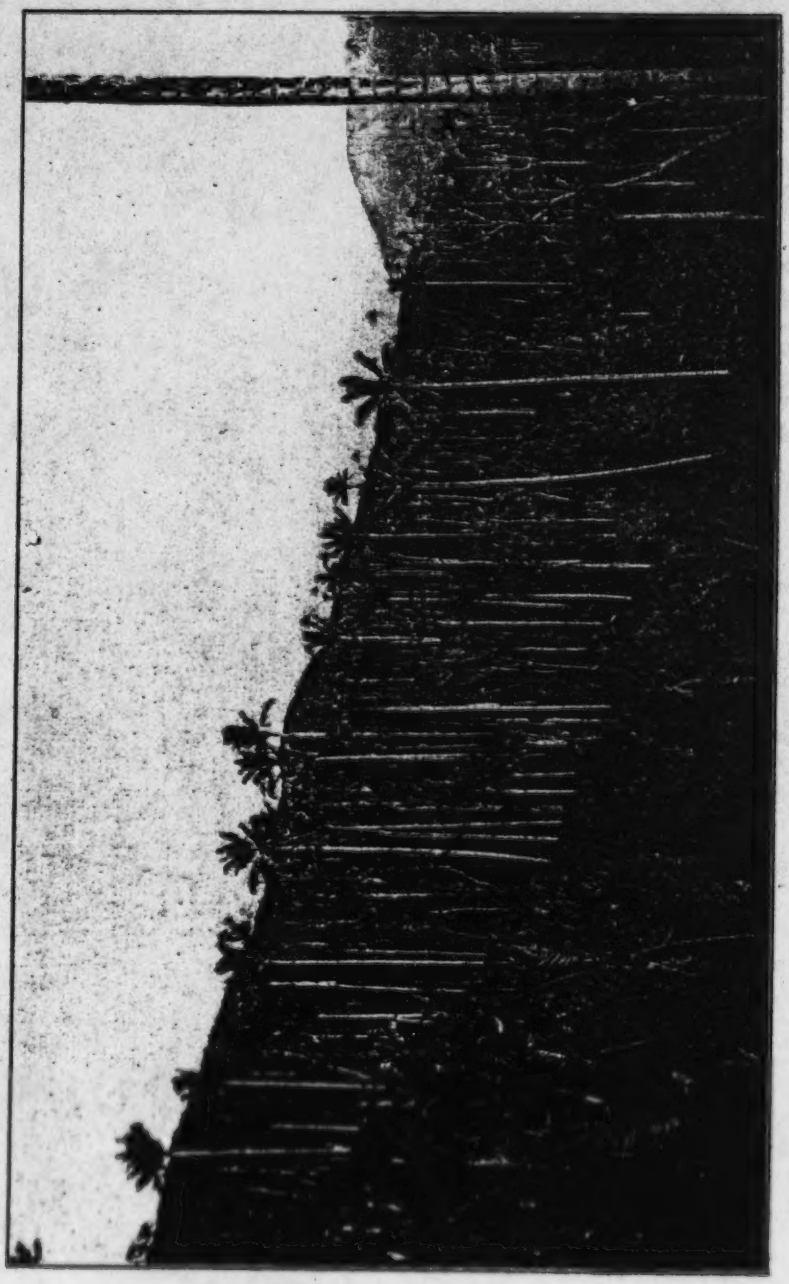

THE WAX PALM (*Ceroxylon andicola*)

[facing P. 327]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

deserted savannas. It must be said, in extenuation, that they have been subjected to much abuse by their neighbors of the "superior race." Moreover, the Paeces are naturally hostile to strangers, descending, as we have seen, from a warlike people. The old Paeces always went about armed, carrying a lance or javelin in the hand and ready to protect their bodies from the darts of an enemy by means of a shield of basket-work (*opimb*), or of tapir hide (*yimba-kât*). The warlike tendencies of the tribe were stimulated by means of periodical contests in which the most valiant warriors fought each other in the presence of the multitude.

To-day, as we have seen, the descendants of these have abundant opportunity to satisfy their fighting propensity by taking sides in the frequent quarrels of the political parties that thus far have kept Colombia in an almost continual turmoil.

Sexual intercourse between Paez women and men of other races is said not to exist; barbarous chastisement would be the fate of the offending female. It is to be expected, however, that the closer contact brought about by the gradual penetration of the Tierra Andentro by whites and negroes will soon overcome the purity of the Paez blood and open the way to amalgamation with the neo-Colombian race.

Reclus, cited above (page 311), gives us to understand that the Paez were cannibals, and the tradition current in the villages along the western foot of the cordillera confirms his intimation with reference to the Pijaos; for the coming of "el Pijao" is still a menace to children. The early chroniclers tell us of several anthropophagous tribes which lived in this region, and it is not unlikely that the Paeces had a share in that custom.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

Castillo's *Nociones gramaticales* is limited to a list of the personal pronouns and the conjugation of the verbs 'to be' and 'to write.' A few more grammatical indications are incorporated in the vocabularies, but on the whole these data are very meager, and much remains to be done in this direction.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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I. — PHONETICS

Vowels

	a	*ạ*	*ä*		
e	*ẹ*		*o*	*ọ*	*ȯ*
i	*ị*		*ü*	*u*	*ụ*
ä	*ë*	*ɪ*	*ȯ*	*ü*	

Consonants

		ẖ	*h*		
k	*ǩ*	*χ*	*χ̇*		*ñ*
ʧ	*ʤ*	*ʒ*			
ʦ	*ʣ*				
l	*d*	*s*	*ṣ*	*l*	*n*
p	*b*	*f*	*v*		*m*

194 In his introduction to Castillo's vocabularies, Uricoechea asserts, on the faith of the latter, that the Paez vowels are numerous, distinct from those of the Spanish language, and difficult of pronunciation. The Castilian language has only the five fundamental Latin vowels, while the Paez has three more, *ä*, *ȯ*, and *ü*, not including the nasalized vowels, which are not specifically distinct.

This can scarcely be called rich, but if by richness Uricoechea means euphony, then he is certainly correct. Indeed, the diphthongs *ai*, *eu*, *io*, *ua*, *ue*, *ui*, *uo*, recur with extreme frequency, and there are none of the half-mute vowels so often met with in the dialects of the Chibchan group. Again, it cannot be said that the Paez, in its present phonetics, offers any serious difficulty to the student so far as pronunciation is concerned. I have given careful attention to this special question, and think that the above table of vowels and consonants is fairly adequate to an exact transcription of the language.

When we come to the comparison of consonants we find that the Paez has all the consonants used in classical Castilian except the *z* (*ð*, English *th*), and that it has *χ̇*, *ʒ*, *ʤ*, *l*, *ʦ*, and *ʣ* in addition. Here we may be justified in speaking of abundance, inasmuch as these fundamental consonants are accompanied by quite a formidable array of compound ones, either

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

initial like *ll, ft, kb, kl, kn, kp, ks, kt, mb, pk, pl, pi, pt, it, tsk,* or terminal like *fχ, kχ, pχ, mb, nd, nt.* 194

A further comparison of Castillo's material with my own shows three chief points of divergence in the transcription of words. One of them, namely, the prefixing of an initial *g* to words beginning with *ua* or *ue*, is general among Spanish authors, there being as much difficulty for a Spaniard to pronounce correctly that broad diphthong as to express any foreign word beginning in *st, sp*, etc., without an initial *e*. Just as a Spaniard will say 'estreet,' 'esprout,' 'estyle,' he is sure to pronounce 'gwatchman,' if not 'gwatchiman,' 'gwarbler,' and so on. This misspelling, then, may be regarded as an idiosyncrasy of our author. 194 114

A second difference, often repeated and which must be considered as an error in the reproduction of the original text, is that the words ending in my vocabulary in *ts, fχ, kχ*, etc., end respectively in *ti, fi, ki*, etc., in Castillo's vocabulary, the terminal *s* and *χ* having almost uniformly been mistaken for an *i*. Examples: [192]

efi	for *efχ*,	eye-tooth.
equi	" *ekχ*,	fuel.
cafi	" *kafχ*,	gargante de.
cati	" *kats*,	hide, skin, peel.
conchi	" *kuntl*,	black.
miti	" *mitl* or *mits*,	pot.
tambi	" *tampχ*,	flank.

Unwritten languages are subject to rapid alteration. This is sufficient to explain the frequent change of *o* to *u*, and the suppression of the initials *a, e*, and *i*, in certain words. Following are a few examples of both cases: [192]

doj	has become	*duχ*,	weight.
rilo	" "	*flu*,	tree.
guaco	" "	*uaku*,	tick.
onza	" "	*kuuza*,	mouse.
ioc	" "	*iuk*,	wood, fuel.
aloch	is now	*lutl*,	child.
alauech	" "	*lauetl*,	lizard.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

efench	is now	*fenl,*	old (applied to female only).
isos	" "	*sus,*	urine.
ahamp	" "	*taap,*	fog, cloud.

In Castillo's vocabularies *xs* stands for *s*, *z* for *ts* and *tz*, *ch* for *tš*. The final *h* is used only to prevent the coming together of the consonants *i* or *s* ending a word and the initial vowel of the following word in compound terms. For instance, we have *mesha*, for *mis-a*, it is not; *izhe* for *its-i*, to join, to marry, etc.

II. — WORD-FORMATION

Remarks. — A few preliminary remarks as to the vocabulary given hereafter are necessary. In a general way it includes only words that are not found in Castillo's work. This is true especially of all isolated terms, but exceptions have been made when one of them is or contains a root of a whole family of words, in which case a few terms have been taken from Castillo's vocabulary and their orthography adapted to our own.

Among those words not included in Castillo's, some have simply escaped him, as, for instance, a number of plant names. But many others are to-day replaced by quite distinct expressions, and this is perhaps one of the strongest indications that the present Paez are in reality a mixture of the remnants of several ancient tribes, like the Paez, the Pijaos, the Jamundies, and probably others, which resulted after Castillo's first survey of the language. As, with the exception of the Paez, we have not even fragmentary vocabularies of the tribes thus amalgamated, it is rather difficult to sustain such an hypothesis with linguistic testimony; but traditions still current and well-known examples of similar cases in other countries can be offered in support of it.

As we have in every case given Castillo's equivalent in the vocabulary, it is needless to reproduce here a list of the differences noted.

Compound Nouns. — The Paez language, like most of the languages belonging to the Chibchan group, has suffixes indicative of form, size, matter, people, etc., that characterize whole classes of words. Castillo's vocabulary being far from exhaustive and written in a somewhat capricious way, it is not always

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easy to determine the words that form such families, and it remains for the future student to systematize and complete them. We are able, however, to give a few examples:

Kué is indicative of smallness, fragility, and is found also in several terms referring to childhood or parental relations. Examples:

kué	child.
a-kué	monkey.
ala-kué	child.
anî-kué	nephew.
anî-tsun-kué	grandson.
afî-kué	nephew.
doχ-kué	nephew.
efî-kué	orphan (phantom's son).
ñu-kué	uncle, father's brother.
je-ñu-kué	aunt, father's sister.
tuku-kué (onomatope)	a small dove.
uesa-kué	girl.
ues-kué	thread.
nitña-kué	bird.

In the following words, however, the signification of the suffix is not apparent:

ak-kué	burial.
eiχ-ka-kué	ant.
ia-kué	ceremonial feather-dress.
ka-kué	body.
imeta-kué	dorsal spine.
ne-kué	challenge, contest.
sa-kué	heart of a tree.

Gué, meaning disease, is found as a suffix in a few known cases:

afla-gué	hectic fever (lit. hot-ache).
buts-gué	smallpox.
iaia-gué	intermittent fever.
su-gué	a medicinal plant.

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192 *Nin* signifies a small, round object, and is found in:

ipi-nin	ember, red-hot coal (lit. fire-seed).
kigue-nin	clay bullet, used with the blow-gun.
sogua-nin	powder.

The verbal desinence *nas*, corresponding to the gerund tense, is largely used to form nouns that indicate condition or state, as in the following examples:

aknuk-nas	coward, from *aknuk*, to be frightened.
ati-kats-nas	tailor (*ati*, a piece of dress; *kats*, to sew).
do-nas	lying-in woman (*do*, to bring forth, to give birth).
fis-nas	the writer (*fis*, to write).
ias-nas	the one named (*ias-a*, to call oneself).
iase-nas	he who baptizes (*ias-e*, to baptize).
ikas-nas	the chief, he who commands (*ikas-a*, to command).
ipons-nas	he who is powerful (*ipons*, the Pleiades).
ʒip-nas	the owner (*ʒip*, to have, to own).
pang-nas	he who is sentenced (*pang*, to sentence, to condemn).
pas-nas	the stranger, he who arrives (*pas*, to arrive).
sikia-nas	he who knows (*sikia*, to know).
tote-nas	the governor, he who talks loud (*tot*, to yell, to talk loud).
ukoments-nas	a kind of wasp.

193 It is also found that large groups of compound nouns have the same initial word, generally in the form of a monosyllabic prefix. Among them, two are of peculiar interest, on account of the apparent specialization of the prefixes *ne* and *pe*, the first of which seems to indicate only relationship, while the second is still more restrictive and refers almost exclusively to relations between father, mother, and children. The signification of *ne* is obscure; while *pe*, used as a prefix before a noun, evidently indicates the coming together of two or of several things or persons. Both groups have been incorporated in the vocabulary, as have a large group of verbs with the same prefix *pe*, but which have seemingly no relation to each other.

Formation of Adjectives. — A good number of adjectives also end in *kui*, but this suffix seems to correspond to a form of the

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verb 'to be,' following what may be a noun or another adjective, and may be regarded as a predicate adjective or denominative verb: 193

ampa-kuĕ, lean, sad.
diti-kuĕ, pretty (Cast.).
dĭtĭ-kuĕ, pretty (Pitt.).
dzuns-kuĕ, frail, slender.
its-kuĕ, lean.
lèla-kuĕ, small.
nu-kuĕ, small, low, of a river. [192]
o-kuĕ, plane, even.
pats-kuĕ, ugly.
pets-kuĕ, thin, like paper.
uáts-kuĕ, lazy.

It should not be inferred from the scarcity of this class of words in the examples given that the Paez language is lacking in them. On the contrary, a few examples show that, like many other primitive idioms, the Paez distinguishes gradations and categories in the qualities he attributes to an object or to different objects or persons. Thus, Castillo gives four different words for 'thick,' all of which, and one more, are still in use to-day. Now it is found that every one of them has a distinct signification or is applied in distinct cases:

fitse, thick, viscous, semi-liquid (of soup, mud, etc.). [192]
zot, thick (of a tree).
ñĭs, thick, stout (of a person).
iot, thick, bulky.
tat-a, thick or dense (of a forest, a jungle).

In the same way we have four expressions for 'large' three for 'soft,' etc., but without data to exemplify their use.

Reduplication is frequent in adjectives and seems to correspond to a superlative gradation.

The adjectives for 'young' and 'old' differ according to the sex of the person to whom they apply. The first is translated by *taki* when it applies to males, as in *pits-taki*, 'young man,' and by *kuc-nas* when applied to females. 'Old' is *inĭ*, or *tei* when referring to males, and *pcnĭ* (or *e-pcnĭ*) when used for females. [562] [561]

Formation of Verbs. — Owing to the brevity of my stay among the Paez Indians, I felt from the first a certain reluctance to enter into the intricate study of the verbs, fearing that, should 193 114

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193 I begin it, I might be induced to accept *a priori* as true
114 apparent rules which would then draw me into further mistakes. My former experience shows that a reliable comprehension of the infinite variations of the verbs, as bearing on flexion, derivation, etc., is not really acquired until one is fully cognizant of the spirit of the language to which they belong and is able to handle this almost as easily as his own.

In consequence of this, the few notes that follow are based mainly on the verbal terms included in Castillo's vocabulary.

193 (*a*) *Primitive Verbs.* — We find first that there are terms,
192 expressive of condition, action, or motion, that can be considered as essentially verbal, and could be called, for simplicity's sake, "primitive verbs." Here are a few of them:

dẽ, to sleep	*ðis*, to burn.
gugw, to run	*ɲeð*, to beg, to ask.
ios, to fly	*ɲas*, to stretch.
kis, to fast	*ɲaf*, to breathe.
klond, to carry	*ɲi*, to attend, to serve.
o, to eat	*ɲo*, to take, to receive.
ð, to die	*ɲuɲ*, to soften, to knead.
ðp, to shut, to close	*tef*, to beat, to knock.
os, to give	*tefl*, to lick.
ùs, to plant	*tis*, to touch.
ots, to work wood (labrar madera).	

It is not unlikely that most of these verbs were originally nouns or adjectives, and that a few of them are still in use as such, although they do not so appear in the vocabulary. The following are given with a nominal, or a qualificative, and a verbal signification, and may be considered as true

(*b*) *Denominative Verbs* — susceptible of all flexions corresponding to person, mode, or time:

anɲó-luɨ, sad, to be sad.
aflatl, warm; *aflad*, to be warm (*ɨ-afl*, to warm one's self).
ios-ɨ, standing, to be standing.
ipe-inka, thoughtful, to be thoughtful.
ɲuend, laying, to be laying.
ɲaio-ɨi, careless, to be careless.

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thlan, hung, hanging, to be hanging.
ôl, hiccough, to gasp, to breathe one's last.
is, rut, menstruum, to be in heat (applied to a female animal).
kami, to lie, lie.
kik-ki, light, to dawn.
kit, tooth; *kit-ik*, to lie on the abdomen (estar boca abajo).
ko-in, food, to cook.
uetlu, be merry, to be merry.

(*c*) *Verbal Prefixes.* — But more generally the transition from the adjective or from the noun is indicated by the prefix *i*, the exact sense of which is not clear. Thus —

ne-io, wife;	*i-io*, to marry (when the man marries).
ne-mi, husband;	*i-mi*, to marry (when the woman marries).
puns-a, arm-pit;	*i-puns*, to carry under the arm.
sus, urine;	*i-sus*, to urinate.
tôw, short;	*i-tôw*, to shorten.

Sometimes the radical word is already a verbal form, as in —

i-pi-tas-á, to be jealous, to accuse; derived from *tas-á*, to hit.
i-pot, to smell like; derived from *pot*, to stink.

In other cases of this class the prefix is *pe*, or *ka*, the meaning of which is equally obscure:

fats, to fix, to nail;	*pe-fiu*, to put together.
kit, a tooth;	*pe-kit*, to masticate.
tlantl, to suck;	*petlantl*, to suck.
gigu, to run;	*ka-gú*, to roll down.
itse, to join;	*ka-itse*, to join, to put together.
kond, to break;	*ka-kond*, to carry off violently.
pang, to sentence;	*ka-pangú*, to punish.

III. — Parts of Speech

A. — *The Noun*

1. *Gender of Nouns.* — When gender is indicated, it is usually by means of suffixing the word *pits*, male, or *ûi* (Cast. *ôi*), female. Examples:

atall-pits, rooster;	*atall-ûi*, hen.
de-pits, lover;	*de-ûi*, sweetheart, concubine.

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193 This rule, however, applies only to persons or animals.
192 Plants and inanimate objects have no gender, so far as known. Moreover, many usual terms, mostly personal, have distinct forms according to sex. We have for instance:

doχ-kuĕ, nephew;	*doχ-nĕs*, niece.
inĭ, grandfather;	*nentĭ*, grandmother.
e-ĭt / *ne-ĭ* } father;	*ne-sĭ*, mother.
ne-mĭ, husband;	*ne-ûi*, wife.
ne-tson, brother-in-law;	*ne-soŭ*, sister-in-law.
saĭ, cacique, chieftain;	*eĭa*, woman principal, cacique's wife.

2. *Number of Nouns.*— The prefix *pc*, already alluded to, may be considered as indicating duality; at least such is distinctly the case in the following instances:

pe-ndii, to be or to go together sister and brother.
pe-niĭl, son and father, or mother and daughter.
pe-pcĭ, to be or to go together brother and sister.
pe-tam, male and female, together.
pe-tsik, son and mother, or son and father, together.

Plurality seems to be indicated in most instances simply by means of the determinative *uci* or *guci*, many, except in the case of nouns designating persons, when the suffix *uĕl*, or *guĕl*, is used. But the same suffix appears also as a distinctive of collectivity, so that this point is not altogether clear. We have:

pits, man;	*pits-uĕl*, men.
teĭ, adult;	*teĭ-uĕl*, adults.

But also

E-ĭt-uĕl hus atlatl meng-a? Did you annoy your father? (Lit. Did you make your father's heart hot?)
father heart hot made

193 3. *Double Gender.* — It is interesting to find in the Paez lan-
601 guage a few cases of what De la Grasserie in a recent work[1] calls "double gender," i. e., nouns that express in a single word the sex of the person who speaks and the sex of the person

[1] Raoul de la Grasserie *De la Catégorie du Genre*, Paris, 1906.

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spoken of. These nouns all have reference to parental relations:

dil, brother of a sister.
cfel, sister of a brother.
iak-tè, elder sister of a sister.
ne-iak, younger sister of a sister.
ne-ndil, brother of a brother.
ne-tè, elder brother of a brother.
pe-rè, younger brother of a brother.

B.— *The Adjective*

As in all languages of the Chibchan group, the Paez adjectives are invariable in gender and in number. The lists at hand are poor and incomplete, but the little we have seems to show a great choice of expressions to indicate degrees or shades in the use of qualificatives.

The superlative gradation seems to be indicated only by the adverb *atha*, 'very,' placed before or after the adjective. There is apparently no way to express a comparison.

C.— *Pronouns*

Our data on this subject are also very meager, and so incomplete that we are at a loss how to give any definite explanation.

In his *Nociones gramaticales* Castillo gives a table of the personal pronouns, from which we infer that there are two forms, according to gender, for both the subjective first and second person of the singular number. From the texts given by the same author, we also deduce that all the personal pronouns are used as possessive, and those of the third person as demonstrative.

In the conjugation of verbs the subject appears to be expressed chiefly by means of a suffix.

Following is Castillo's table:

I	Masc. *anki*, *antl* Fem. *oku*	we	*kuc-k-utl*, *kuc-k-u*, *ku-k-uel*
thou (you)	Masc. *inui* Fem. *itla*	you	*in-k-uel*, *i-k-uel*
he, that	Masc. *kina*, *kiana* ?	they, those	*kina-k-uel*

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193 The middle *k* of the plural forms is inserted apparently for the sake of euphony.

D.—*The Verb*

[121 114] As explained above, I did not endeavor to collect material for the study of verbs, by reason of the limited time at my disposal. Castillo's data are also very defective, but the paradigms presented by him as examples of conjugations are sufficient to afford an insight into the mechanism of conjugation. We reproduce the principal tenses with the object of showing that the verbal modifications referring to person, mode, and time, consist of a combination of the verbal root with the copulative or substantive verb and a suffix or ending that expresses the person. Our spelling differs somewhat from that used by [114] Friederich Müller,[1] who had no practical experience with the language:

(1) To be:

	Singular	Plural
	Præsens	
1st p.	*anki-t*, I am;	*ku-k-uel ta-u*, we are;
2d p.	*inui-ng*	*ik-uel ik-u*
3d p.	*kinâ-a*	*kinâ-(g·)uel i-a.*
	Perfectum	
1st p.	*anki-kit*, I was;	*ku-k-uel te-u id*, we were;
2d p.	*inui-ng-id*	*ik-uel nek-u id*
3d p.	*kinâ-k-id*	*kina-g-uel ta id.*
	Futurum	
1st p.	*anki-uel*, I shall be;	*ku-k-uel uel-ka-u*, we shall be;
2d p.	*inui-ueng*	*ik-uel nek-u*
3d p.	*kinâ-nen*	*kina-k-uel pat-in.*

(2) To write, or to paint, *fis*:

	Præsens	
1st p.	*anki fis-ats-t*, I write;	*kut-k-u-fis-ats-ta-u*, we write;
2d p.	*inui fis-ats-ung*	*ik-uel fis-ats-ku-a*
3d p.	*kina fis-ats-k*	*kina-g-uel fis-ats-ki.*

[1] *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*, Bd. II, 358, Wien, 1882.

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Perfectum

1st p.	*anhi-t fis*, I wrote;	*hui-k-uel ta-u fis*, we wrote;
2d p.	*imi-ng fis*	*ik-uel ik-u fis*
3d p.	*hinâ-k fis*	*hinâ-g-uel tink fis.*

Futurum

1st p.	*anhi fis an-et*, I shall write;	*hui-k-uel fis an-et ka-u*, we shall write;
2d p.	*imi fis an-eng.*	*ik-uel fis an-ek*
3d p.	*hina fis an-en*	*hinâ-g-uel fis a-tin.*

Castillo gives two more forms for the Præsens:

1st p.	*fis ats-il*, I am writing, or painting;	*fis ats-i-ta-u*, we are (etc.);
2d p.	*fis ats-ing*	*fis ats-ik-ua*
3d p.	*fis ats-ik*	*fis ats-i-ta*

and

1st p.	*fis u-op-l*, I am writing, or painting;	*fis op-ta-u*, we are (etc.);
2d p.	*fis op-ngu*	*fis u-op-kua*
3d p.	*fis u-op-a*	*fis u-op-ta.*

The infix *ats* is an affirmative particle; *op* is a kind of auxiliary verb, corresponding with 'to be,' or 'to have.' The *k* and *g* of the plural forms (1st and 3d pers.) are simply euphonic intercalations.

The imperative tense is often formed by prefixing or suffixing *mã*, with a frequent elision of the *ã*, as in the following examples:

Tuad-e-mã! Run! (Hurry up!)
Tata mã-palla! Go (and) call (your) father!
Alla-mã! Go away!
Kla m-ue (*mã-ue*)! Catch the cow!
Io m-pis! Give (me) water!
Mi-io! Come!

E. — *Borrowed Words*

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(1) *From the Spanish.* — As might have been expected, we find in Paez quite a number of Spanish words, most of which are included in the following list:

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kamisa,	for *camisa*,	shirt.
kuela,	" *guineo*,	a variety of banana.
kiso,	" *queso*,	cheese.
kstil,	" *cuchillo*,	knife (machete).
kuchi,	" *cocha*,	pig.
leiti,	" *leche*,	milk.
mama,	" *mamá*,	mother.
mil,	" *miel*,	honey.
panga,	" *banco*,	bench.
sapi,	" *sapo*,	toad.
sonda,	" *cinta*,	ribbon.
tlapan,	" *eslabon*,	fire-steel.
tiele,	" *tigre*,	jaguar.

(2) *From the Kitisu.* — In describing the territory occupied by the Paez and the neighboring tribes which later became consolidated with them, we have seen that it was, and is still, in close proximity to the northern end of the area occupied by the Kitisu (see the map, plate 1). Intercourse between these peoples has been necessarily frequent, and many words have become common to both languages. Castillo's editor, the late Professor Uricoechea, obtained a list of some of these words from Mr G. Pacheco Zegarra, who had perused Castillo's vocabulary. To these I added a few, notwithstanding which the list still remains very incomplete, as the lack of an extensive Kitisu dictionary, including the northern dialects, forbade any further effort on my part to make it longer:

Paez	*Kitisu*
ahate, cinder	*ahiu*, cinder
atsi, to sneeze (onomatope)	*atsii*, to sneeze
atsil-pits, rooster	*atsil-pu*, rooster
anahu, part of woman dress	*anahu*, part of woman's dress
do-a, to stink	*as-nana*,
atia, very	*atia* (*asatia*), much, very
alke, dog	*alike*, dog
ai, yes	*ai*, yes
hipa-hi, to overtake by following	*hipa*, behind, after
hillim, drivel, dirt	*hsill*, drivel, dirt
handui, vulture (condor)	*hunter*, vulture
ia-yi, blooming sugar-cane	*ia-yia*, blooming sugar-cane, also a vine

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killka, paper, letter, book	*killka*, paper, letter, book
kaflomi, to lick	*kafloni*, to bite
kikin, again	*kikin*, again
kakka, father-in-law	*kakka*, father-in-law
laki, lax, feeble, lazy	*llaki*, feeble faint, sad
mutlai, to kiss	*mutlai*, kiss
mil, cat	*misi*, *mitli*, cat
miski, honey	*miski*, honey
muti, boiled corn	*muti*, boiled corn
ña, to complete, to finish	*ña*, so (Span. *ya!* ya se acabó = *ña*)
ñuca, sugar-cane, sweet cane	*ñuk-ñu*, sweet, applied to any fruit
piña-shia; to hate, to quarrel	*piña-tsina*, to be angry
pisko, turkey	*pilku*, bird
puki, watershed	*pucyu*, watershed
pun, to ask	*pin?* who is it?
tlumle, sash to support the *anaku*	*tlumki*, sash, girdle
tlpi-pi, turkey	*tlumpi*, brown
ukupa-hi, to push	*ukupa-tlii*, to push
uás, a hut	*huási*, house
vite-pasak, one hundred	*pathak*, one hundred

(3) *From other Languages.* — It is likely that the Paez language borrowed many other terms from neighboring tribes, but thus far we lack the necessary material for comparison. As explained above, since Castillo's residence among these Indians their language seems to have undergone considerable change, especially in its vocabulary, a fact readily explained if we admit that the present Paez are composed of the remains of several tribes, greatly reduced in number by their wars with the Spanish conquerors and the hardships they suffered after their submission to the new rule. With the Chibcha, the analogies seem reduced to the rules of construction, the vocabulary being totally distinct.

F. — *The Numerals*

1. *Jas, vitetl*	*tetl*
2. *Ens*	*ens*
3. *Tek*	*tek*
4. *Pans*	*pans*

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5.	*Tats*	*tats*
6.	*Sanki*	*tesets, tesk̨i*
7.	*Ens-sanki*	
8.	*Tek-sanki, puki-pans*	
9.	*Pans-sanki*	
10.	*Kose-pemba*	*ksemba*
20.	*Ens-kose-pemba*	
30.	*Tek-kose-pemba*	
40.	*Pans-kose-pemba*	
100.	*Pasats-tla, vite-pasak*	
1000.	*kose-pemba-pasàts-tla*	

As indicated by the above examples, the Paez Indians formerly counted upon their fingers, so that their numeration was necessarily decimal. It is difficult, not to say impossible, to determine the meaning of the word *sanki*, for 'six,' but it seems to have been, as Castillo expresses it, a base for the series between five and ten. Thus *ens-sanki*, means the 'second six'; *tek-sanki*, the 'third six'; *pans-sanki*, the 'fourth six.' We also find that *puki-pans*, a second expression for *eight*, means the 'return of four.'

Kose-pemba, ten, means 'the hands completed,' an expression similar to that found in many other primitive languages. At present this system is found only in a mutilated form, including the numerals one to six, and ten. For other numbers Spanish is used. *Vitetl* has become reduced to *tetl*; and another expression, meaning apparently 'second one' (*tetl-ens?*), has been substituted for *sanki*.

IV. — Vocabulary

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The following vocabulary includes all words collected by the author and not found in Castillo's work, and also expressions of the latter that complete families of words with a common root. *H* means Huila, and *T* Tacueyó, villages in which words were collected. *Cast.* signifies Castillo; *Span.*, Spanish.

a, an (*ani, atl?*)	mine, my; our, ours
a-ę̃i (T), *ia-ę̃i* (H)	eye — Cast.: *ia-fi*
á-ę̃i (T), *guá-gua* (H)	*Inga edulis*, a tree
alko (Kitua word)	dog

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ãlho + mut-kuĕ	*Solanum mammosum*, a plant; Span. *tetilla* [192] [601]
ain + de (T)	son-in-law. See *anĕ-indeχá*
ain + hĭtĭ-kua (T)	son — Cast. has *ne-thik*; in the modern word is found the root of *a-left*, medieval word for boy, or girl
anio + ũès (T), *pũs* (H)	the Pleiades, a constellation
anĕ (nasal *a*, *ĭ*)	may signify my, mine
anĕ + indeχá (H)	son-in-law [601]
anĕ + kuĕ (H), *afĭ + kuĕ* (T)	nephew — Cast.: *deχ-kuĕ*
anĕ+mámo (H), *mámo+señor* (T)	maternal grandfather
anĕ+títa (H), *títa+señor* (T)	paternal grandfather
anĕ + títa (H), *afĭ + hábo* (T)	father-in-law
anĕ + trún-kuĕ (H), *a-trún* (T)	grandson
anĕ+wasák-ua (H), *afĭ-wáset* (T)	niece — Cast.: *deχ-uet* [601]
anĕ + ĭi (H), *afĭ-ĭi* (T)	wife — Cast.: *ne-iõ*; see *ĭi*
aχ	fly
aχ + uès	mosquito — (*uès* means worm)
ãtã	moon, month
ãtã-luflĭ	crescent moon
ãtã-luflĭ-a	new moon
ãtã-tansia (T) / *ãtã-tansia* (H)	waning moon
a-trún (T), *anĕ-trún-kuĕ* (H)	grandson — Cast.: *ne-tsom* (*tsom* = *trún*) [601]
afĭ (onomatope)	to sneeze
afĭ	ruana, a piece of native dress
afĭ + kuĕ-nas	tailor (*kuĕs* = to sew)
afĭ + pètĭ	a piece of native male dress — Cast.: (*atipefĭ*)
afĭ + tuĕ	a piece of woman's dress
afĭ + kuĕ (T)	nephew [601]
afĭ-ua-set (T)	niece
afĭ-ĭi (T)	wife; see also *anĕ*
ahĕ, ahĕn (H)	bed — Cast. has *de-hi-ue*; *dĕ* = sleep, *hi-ue* = place: a place to sleep
kaub (H)	shoulder — Cast.: *am-kamb*

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bcn-dziki (H)	pillow — Cast. : *pe-ki-di-ki*
biún, viò, viún (H)	money — Cast. : *gut-iò*
biún + mbè	gold — Cast. : *guc-iò-mbè*
biún + tlime	silver money (Span. *plata blanca*)
bàz	fly — Cast. has *ap* ; *buts* is a small beetle that eats maize and other crops when they show their first leaves.
bufta	trumpet-tree (*Cecropia* sp.)
bátl	*Salvia* sp., a labiate plant — Span. : *parendera*
dè	sleep
dè + χek (T)	to sleep
dè + χ ek-a (H)	to sleep
dè + ki-ne	bed (= place to sleep)
dè + ntl	sleepy, lazy
dè + pits	lover
dè + s-e	to sleep (Cast.)
dè + ùi	concubine
dits	egg
dits + kak (H)	penis
dì-na + kàtl (T), *i-nà-kàts* (H)	mouth — Cast.: *i-nè*
dslt (H)	bone — Cast.: *dit*
dslts (H)	testicle
dèχ, dunk	heavy — Cast : *dexi*, to weigh
dèχ-a	very heavy
dtl, tl	trail, path — Cast.: *di*
dziχ (H), *nasi-unù* (T)	medicine-man — Cast.: *dzyi*, hechicero
dzik-ìo (T), *ùi* (H)	woman, female
dzik-tl	head — Cast.: *dik-ti*
dzik-tl nasa dzik-tl (H), *dtit* (T)	skull
dzik-tl + tupχ (H), *iχ-kuàt-kàtl* (T)	forehead
dzip	face — Cast.: *dip*
dzùns-kue	thin, slender — Cast.: *pis-kue*
dzit-cuχ	*Rhus juglandifolia*, a poisonous tree
i, kè	field (Span. *rosa*), blood

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i + fuxta (T) } *i + fus* (H) }	jungle, old field (Span. *rastrojo*)
i + ul-tix (H)	artery, vein
ʃĩ,	eye-tooth
thi̯, *th-yu*, *ũ*	fuel, timber — Cast.: *ch-i*
exz	two
exz + fla uxta	few
exz, *ẽx*, *xuh*	spring, dry season: according to Cast. *exz* or *ẽx* means also to fish; the dry season was called *exz-tz*, i. e. fishing time, because the Indians fished only while the rivers were dry [221]
i-pil	midday
ix	louse
il	coca
i-lo-ũ (H), *-i-lx-ul* (T)	anthear — Cast.: *e-lo-li*
ixli-uet (H)	hip
ilx	humming-bird (Span. *tominejo*)
ell	phantom, dumb
ell + guati (Cast.)	caringano, large louse
ell + kuł	orphan (= phantom's son)
ell + ui (T) } *ell + ui-ix* }	widow (phantom's wife)
e-ul, *fix-tz*	shooting-star (Cast.: *kitti-tin*)
fĩ	wood, tree — Cast.: *nilo*, *nil*
fĩ + kixh	wood
fĩ + kłx, *fĩ-łatx*	bark — Cast.: *catil*
fĩ + tłx	root
fĩ + thaẓ (H)	post — Cast.: *nowẓá*
fĩ + tzima	*Tibouchina lepidota* Baill., a small tree with showy flowers
fuł (H)	ladder — Cast.: *agui*
gua-łax (T), *łuł-łax* (H)	beard, bearded or white man — Cast.: *gua-gua*, *in-gui-łax*
guẓ̃, *ul*, *łatl-ul* (H)	hammock
hah (H)	cough
hăhui-hil (T), *th-pil* (H)	a myriapod (Span. *ceutopiés*)

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192 *kā* (H) — blood

kin-se, kás-utsa — the afternoon — Cast.: *finze*

kié, gié (H) — trousers

kún — to grind

kún-ku-kuét, kúl-kuet (H) — grinding-stone — Cast.: *kune kuet*

kunza — mouse — Cast.: *onza*

kũs (H) — heart — Cast.: *agnus*

kúpe (H) — fence, hedge — Cast.: *ko-find*

ku-ák (H) — death

ká-a-uts (H) — net

ká-cuẓ (H), *a-cuẓ* (T) / *ká-cuẓ + kúts* (H) / *ká-ẓ + kutt* (T) — eye — Cast.: *ia-fi* / eyelash

ióf-dzi-ke (H) — tears

kúut, — volcano

[276] *kú,* — *Datura arborea*, a small tree, with large white flowers, having narcotic properties

ieh-kúin (T) — brother

[601] *ieh-kúin neet-te* (T) — elder brother — Cast.: *ne-tré; tré* = old

ieh-kúin nutt (T) — younger brother

ieh-ti (H) — brother

ieh-ti inti-ka (H) — elder brother

ieh-ti-nutt-kua (H) — younger brother

i-kuts (Cast.) — to dress (when a man dresses)

i-kuts-utt, — inner piece of dress, a kind of shirt

i-kuét (H) — knee, knee-cap

ins, — to dress (used by females only)

ins-utt, — inner part of female dress

io-kit, kit-io — bunch

ip, ikí — light, candle — Cast.: *ip-i*

ip + e-uklo (T) — fire

ip + ki, ti — smoke

ip + ik-pétz — spark

ip + imbe-yetsa (H) — fire

ip + i-kin — embers, red-hot coal

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iꝑ + iol	fire-place (Cast.)
iꝑ + kat (H)	hearth, fireplace
iꝑ + kult	hearthstone (Cast.), flint (T.)
iꝑ + petti	flint (Cast.)
iꝑ + ons	the Pleiades, a constellation
iꝑ + sik (T)	firebrand
iꝑ + ttantša	coal (Cast.)
iꝑ + tšik (H)	firebrand
ĩl	old — Cast.: *ins*
ĩl-kua	old, old man
ĩl-kats	hair on the body of grown people
ĩts	nose — Cast.: *ints*
ĩts-k-acuχ (T) } *ĩts-kafχ* }	nostrils — Cast.: *ints kaß*
itl-kuł	lean — Cast.: *tso-e*
itl-kuł-a	very lean
iú	silver
iú, iò	water
iú + ak-li (H)	wound
iú-g-udla (T)	river, stream — Cast.: *io-mbo*
iú + its	headwaters of a river.
iú + kar (T) } *iú + letl-kuá* (H) }	brook, spring
iú + puká	border, river bank
iú + li (T) } *iú + li* (H) }	otter — Cast.: *io-li*
iú + uál (H)	river, stream
iúk (H)	breech — Cast.: *kuts*
iúk	wood, forest — Cast.: *iok*
iúk + ia-uts (T), *tág-ia* (H)	vine
iúk-pèko (T) } *iúk-puka-so-iúk* (H) }	forest edge
iúk-ua (H), *kbám-ba* (T)	chin
iu-uí-gua	peace
χimba	horse
χimba + blill (H)	hoof
χimba + kát	shield (Cast.)
χimba + kutl	tapir
χimbe-kuí-kuł (H)	thigh

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ẓiu	long — Cast. : *io-ios*
ẓiú-ka	all
ẓút (*hiút, iút*)	herb — Cast. : *iot*
kâβ (T) *ka fẓi* (H)	ditch
kak	baked
kámbo (T), *támbo* (H)	stick, young tree
kamát (T) *kutta* (H)	drum — Cast. : *kimb*
kantl	ugly
kás (T) *kâts*	skin, hide, peel — Cast. : *kati*
kénse	gullet
kia-tlá	only one (Span. : *uno no más*)
kit	tooth
kit + aka	toothache ; *aka* = ache, pain
kit + enil (T), *tsutl* (H)	molar tooth — Cast. : *toza*
kits	clay
ki-ua *ki-uẹ*	soil, ground, native — Cast. : *kigue*
ki-ua + kutli (H) *ki-ua + kutlo* (T)	wild hog (*Dicotyles tajacu*) ; Span. : *tatabro*
ki-uẹ + nia	cassava-root (*Manihot utilissima*)
ki-uẹ + ptumb (H), *tukâk* (T)	very small wild dove (*Columbi-gallina* sp.)
kla	cow, cattle
kla-kats	cowhide
klauetl (T), *lauetl* (H)	lizard — Cast. : *alahuetl*
kpîl, era-kpîl	thunder — Cast. : *kapil*
kpîl + kuẓy-nek	lightning — Cast. : *kuene*
kpîl + ui-ue-tsa	storm
kpîl + úẓ-tlek	it thunders hard
ktúme	eye-brow — Cast. : *atonkas*
kutb-kuẹ (H)	body — Cast. : *ka-kuẹ*
kuẹ-kue-ttk (H)	fever — Cast. : *iaia-guẹ*
kutl	stone
kutl + kosi (T), *tûl-iâ* (H)	pestle (Span. : *mano de piédra*) — Cast. : *kutl-akike, lol-tlik*

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kuèt + mâl }	stony beach, stony field (Span.: *pedregal*)
kuèt + muzè	sand
kuèt + thin (T) } *kuèt + tin* (H) }	flint
kukuí (H)	lung
kuĭza	food — Cast.: *kui-ia*
kukĭ (H) *kuĭl-kâl, kuĭl* (T)	corn — Cast.: *kokavi*
kukĭ + bâ	red corn
kukĭ + kunĭl	black corn
kukĭ + teul-i } *kukĭ + tui* }	corn-ear
kukĭ + thime } *kukĭ + nâ-ua* }	white corn
kukĭ + unde-âte, unten-âte	harvesting season
kunĭl	black — Cast.: *kunĭli*
kûpi, kuĭl-kupi (H)	birth
kûs, kûsku	evening, night — Cast.: *kos*
kûs + ia } *kûs + ti* }	the morning — Cast.: *kos-kai*
kûs + utza, hinze	afternoon — Cast.: *finze*
kuzâ	hand — Cast.: *kose*
kuzâ + bia (H)	finger
kuzâ + bia sèfuel	major finger
kuzâ + bia nûtl-kuè (H)	little finger
kuzâ + gûla (H)	thumb
kuzâ + mâi (H)	hand
kuzâ + pèts (H)	wrist — Cast.: *kose-peti*
kuzâ + pil (H)	fore-arm
kuzâ + pop (H)	palm of hand
kuzâ + wètte	tendon
kuzâ + ûns (H)	pulse
kus-bè (T), *âl* (H)	snake — Cast.: *ol*
kzuns, tsuns, tsuts	thorn — Cast.: *tsons*
lâme	wax-palm (*Ceroxylum andicola*)
lantl	a large rodent (*Cavia* sp.)
letl-kua	small, narrow, low
lètl-kuè tsa	piece, fragment
lûl	to grind — Cast.: *lol*

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192. *lól + ia, kutt-koi* — grinding pestle (Span. *mano de piedra*)

lól + kutt, kunku-kutt — grinding stone

lól + tlik — small grinding-stone

luft — child, male or female — Cast.: *alott*

luft (H), *ain ftft + kua* (T) — son

luft-kúpi (T), *kúpi* (H) — childbirth

luft-ut, ut (T), *guaχ* (H) — hammock (*luft-ut*=child-bridge)

maikχ — few, several

makínio — Tahiti plantain

[60] *máma* (H), *paint* (T) — mother

mámá + sther (T), *ant + máma* — maternal grandfather

map ! — pull out !

mem — *Carica* sp., a wild pawpaw tree

mínt (H) — tail

mú — excrement — Cast.: *ime*

mú-ain (H) — liver — Cast.: *mé-ki*

mú-tú (H) — bowels — Cast.: *ime-tó*

mú-ut — buzzard — Cast.: *ime-gnuei*

mun-gué (H) — dysentery

mitúnχ — beverage

miúti, muftl — a corn meal — Cast.: *miti*

muti-hi — tobacco

mum, afid — a tree with long, broad pods (*Inga* sp.)

munl — sand

nain (H) — stomach

ndza — Indian. According to Cast. *ndza* means any being; at present it means people (*gens*), but applies to Indians only

[60] *ndza + pents* (T) — grandmother — Cast.: *epentl*

ndza + pitl-te (T) — man, Indian — Cast.: *pits*

ndza + pgets (H) — man, Indian

ndza + ái (T) — woman, Indian

ndze + umá — medicine-man, sorcerer

ndi + ma-huie-iua — market

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ne + enl	grandmother
ne + hi	everyone's mother (Cast.)
ne + i	father
ne + iaf (Cast.)	first-born
ne + iak	sister of a sister
ne + ii	wife, spouse
ne + kui-uhü	daughter in law
ne + ni	husband, spouse
ne + ndil	brother of a brother
ne + ti	mother
ne + tüu	sister in law
ne + tle	elder brother of any two
ne + tut	more powerful, also Pope (Cast.)
ne + tlik	son
ne + tum	grandson (Cast.)
ne + tuu	brother-in-law (Cast.)
nele	ead, earthquake
nidus, nidus (H)	needle — Cast.: *nuec*
nil	thick, stout — Cast.: *di, di-up*
paini (T), *mdma* (H)	mother — Cast.: *e-pe, ne-ti, ti*
pamle + atl	part of female dress
pe	indicative of pairing, collecting, or of coming together, of two or several things or persons of the same kind
pe + fiü	to unite, to bind together
pe + kuk	to collect or bring together many things
pe + ku	to increase, to add
pe + ndil	to be of to go together sister and brother
pe + nil	son and father, or son and mother
pe + nük-ue	aunt, father's sister
pe + pel	to be or to go together brother and sister
pe + tum	male and female together
pe + tuuts	mother-in-law, aunt, father's sister
pe + utuil	the fence around a grave, made of many sticks tied together
pe + tlik	son and mother, or son and father
pe + ti	younger brother
pend + düuu (H)	burial

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192	*pẽnĩ*	old, when speaking of a female — Cast.: (*e-penĩ*)
[601]	*pẽnĩ + kuẽ*	old woman, grandmother
	pẽĩ	sister of a brother
	pẽĩ + núi-tain (T) *pẽĩ + nu-te* (H)	elder sister of a brother
	pẽĩ + núĩĩ (T) *pẽĩ + nuĩĩ-kuẽ* (H)	younger sister of a brother
	pẽts (H)	sweat
	pets-ẓita	throat
	pian dẽán usta	half
	pikas	beam
[824]	*pindo*	*Gynerium saccharoides*, a tall grass used in making hats
	pinzò	*Alnus* sp., the South American alder
	pipẽo	bijao (*Heliconia* sp.) a plantain-like plant
	pipẽo + knieia (T) *pipẽo + kneia* (H)	dwarf plantain
[177]	*pisko* (H), *tipi-pi* (T)	turkey (Span.: *bimbo*, or *chumpipe*); both Paez words are derived from the Kitšua
	pitika	a variety of large tick — Cast.: *guakó*
	pitá	sheep — Cast.: *kapita*
[824]	*pkind* (T) *pkind + a* (H) *pkind + a-iún* (H) *pkind + bits* (T)	guava tree (*Psidium guajava*) guava, fruit
	plán (T)	plantain
	plán + debth	manzana, a variety of banana
	plán + d-its	ripe plantain
	plán + hák	baked plantain
	plán + háts	plantain peel
	plán + tskáẓ	boiled plantain
[824]	*plũ*	shade — Cast.: *pnasá*
	pnál	*Tropæolum tuberosum*, a plant with edible tubers

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pûs	strong (in flavor)
lal	*Phyllanthus* sp., a small euphorbiaceous tree, the leaves of which give a black dye
satsâm	Iron
sek	sun — Cat.: *itaki, taki: sek* also signifies dry season, and heat of the sun
tsimb (T), *dsa* (H)	young, half-grown maize, just before tasseling
tsimbe	puma — Cat.: *ti*
tsisten	heap
tsisten + âpta (Cast.)	to be heaped — *ap* = all
tsal	a passion flower the fruits of which are edible
sonâ	*Stylanthes guianensis*, a plant
sâ (T) / *sâ-nâ*	sister-in-law — Cast.: *ne-sêu*
sus-tê	belly — Cast.: *to-ti*
tâm-pu (H)	navel — Cast.: *tamb*
tâ-pando (H)	broom
tsu-hâfi (H), *tsâfz* (H)	hole
tsul (H), *tsesi* (T)	*Ullucus tuberosus*, a plant with edible tubers
tâ, tâ	mountain — Cast.: *atâ*
ta-âla	mountain group, mountain range (*serrania*)
tâmbuî (H), *tsîm* (T)	occiput
tâuz	strap
tee	calabash used as a plate or cup
tîfi, tsift-iat (H)	wall
tofât	blow-gun—Cast.: *rito-pât*; Span.: *bodoquera*
tôpi-tôpia	clean, free of obstruction
tsalz (H)	upper-arm

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192 *tsaxi-t, uats tsa-eu* — burnt field (*rosa quemada*)

tsam — sand

tsik (H) — collar, neck — Cast.: *tine*

tsins (H) — back

tsi-tsi-ut, tski-uá — country, native land

tskóχ (T), *kuiga* (H) — boiled

tsmέχ-me (H), *tsuá-uχ* (T) — butterfly

tsud-uá — *Miconia æruginosa* Naud., a shrub

[601] *tsufχ* (H) — swelling — Cast.: *ekolò*

tsun — brother-in-law — Cast.: *ne-tsòn*

tsũt — tender, edible corn — Cast.: *Jipi* (Span. of Cauca: *choclo*, from the Kitšua)

tsute — *Weinmannia* sp., a small tree

tšàeu (T), *tšaũ* (H) — a large deer (*venado*) — Cast.: *tsavi*

tšàeu + šham (T) / *tšaũ + bètt-kua* (H) — a small deer

tšahũ — pineapple

tšànga — *Sida* sp., a woody weed

tšàn-tsa — strong (in vigor)

tse-ua-uá — *Miconia æruginosa* Rand., a bush

tšinda (H) — foot
tšinda + kàka (H) — ankle
tšinda + me-tú (H) — calf of the leg
tšinda + pil (H) — foreleg
tšinda + pop (H) — sole of the foot
tšinda + tant (H) — heel
tšinda + tsits (H) — foot-finger, toe

tši (Cast.) — *Gynerium saccharoides*, a tall grass

tšit — roof

tšits-uá (T), *tsitt-ualá* (H) — quagmire, swamp

tškàs — hair — Cast.: *dikas*

tštà-tènt — dust

tšuá — hat — Cast.: *-tšuá*

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thdầt	louse, a very large variety called *carángano* by the Spanish natives — Cast.: *eti-guati* 192
tsui (T), *ûksia-pits* (H)	husband — Cast.: *nemi* [601]
tsutl	woman's breast — Cast.: *hiki*
tukuè-tsè	*Relbunium hypocarpium*, a plant the roots of which give a red dye [386] [824]
tulù (H)	plantain — Cast.: *tulù*; see also *plân*
tulù + kak	baked plantain
tulù + kâts	plantain peel
tulù + kuiga	boiled plantain
tulù + its	ripe plantain
ting-ua (H), *tù-ue* (T)	ear — Cast.: *tignue*
ting-ua + kafs-iaka (H)	ear-ache
ting-ua + rits (H)	ear-lobe
ting-uè-ieki	earring
tùe-kafz (T)	vent hole
tûpa	spider
tûta (H)	first
udka	crab
udla	large, high, tall — Cast.: *gula*
udn-dziûns (H)	fishhook
udza-kua (H), *gudza-ko* (T)	daughter, girl [601]
uats-to } *uatl-ta* }	tired
ud-tsa	necklace
uèll	parroquet
uense	agouti (*Dasyprocta* sp.) Span. *cuèacusa*
uentl	fish — Cast.: *gneundi*
uentl + patsi	a large, iguana-like lizard
uès (H), *guds* (T)	earthworm — Cast: *gues*
uès + kuè	thread
uè-ue-niè (H)	voice, word
uèza	wind — Cast.: *gneuma!*

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úi	maiden, woman, female — Cast.: *ói*
úi + ẓume	prostitute
úi + ḥul	female child
uin-dña (H)	elbow — Cast. : *ſitsa*
uhlẓ	*Equisetum* sp., a cryptogamous plant
ulmé-tuk	*Daucus montanus* Willd., a plant
unpetl (T)	temple (of the head)
unze-hal (H)	arm-pit — Cast. : *punsa haſa*
ús (T), *hús* (H)	bean, kidney — Cast. : *os*
ús + babino	pod, bean-pod
ús + bé	red bean
ús + ḥutl	black bean
us + mitl	scorpion
ús + wál	*Erythrina edulis* Triana, a leguminous tree, with edible seeds
útse (T), *úẓtse* (H)	alligator pear — Cast. *ese*
utliſl	diarrhea
úẓ	sparrow-hawk
vilẓ (H)	finger-nail
vilia	sash, woman's belt
vi-vilẓ (H)	claw
vitl	door — Cast.: *vile*
vitlé, vitlé-ua	bird — Cast.: *vitlak-ue*